Heterotopias of Memory:
Cultural Memory in and around Newcastle upon Tyne

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Abstract

The aim of the research is to examine the multiple spatial frameworks and materially manifested forms of memory by applying current memory studies theory to four areas of memorial experience: personal memory, civic memory, tourism and film. The thesis looks at memory practices based in the North East, particularly those that take place in Newcastle upon Tyne, and explores how the city is remembered in specific memory practices and institutions.

Combining work in memory studies and cultural geography, the thesis highlights how memory is spatialized and is particularly concerned with the city that shapes, and is shaped by, memory and memory practices. Changes have taken place in the relationship between space, place and temporality that have affected memory and practices of memorialization. At first glance, the technologies we use and the spaces we inhabit can be interpreted as leading to a pervasive amnesia. The thesis challenges this assumption. It proposes that the concept of heterotopia provides a critical mode of reading memory spaces offering a more positive account of the way memory is currently being experienced. The thesis looks at how memory is realized in the fabric of the city and how the historical city itself is represented through the discursive practices of memorial public art, the museum and the cinema, creating a collective cultural memory. The particular contribution that this thesis makes is that it tests the explanatory power of the concept of heterotopia in relation to memorial sites and it applies memory studies to the city of Newcastle in a time of transition and renewal.

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Chapter 1

Memory, Place and Heterotopia

Postmodern theory has challenged notions of the stability and authenticity of memory. During the twentieth century there was a re-evaluation of the study of history and its role in our understanding of the past. In particular, the impact of the two World Wars and the Holocaust undermined the idea that memory could be thought of as a simple recollection of the past. Memory understood as a straightforward re-presentation of the past began to be re-conceptualized as constructed and therefore open to negotiation and contestation. As a result any discussion of memorializing required a debate about meaning and the power to assign it. This thesis is concerned with how this re-evaluation extends beyond the sphere of concepts and theories to the material manifestations of memory objects, institutions and practices. It draws its examples from the North East of England, with particular focus on the city of Newcastle upon Tyne, NewcastleGateshead and Beamish.

Postmodern critiques of modernist metanarratives, such as historiography, challenge notions of historical truth and objectivity and question issues of representation and knowledge. Memory is now most often associated with notions of subjectivity and desire rather than with a sense of history traditionally conceived. The traditional study of history enjoyed a privileged position of authority and authenticity but now memory and memorializing have been taken up as a countervailing source for organizing our experience of the past. Despite the increased academic interest in memory studies in recent

decades, it has developed tentatively. The first Reader dedicated entirely to the subject was published in 2007 and the first journal in 2008.[1] Both show an attempt to organize, establish and legitimize the study. One of the stated aims of the new journal is to address issues concerning basic questions of the methodology and concepts of this multi-disciplinary study that has shown itself to be sensitive to the problems and limits of its own discourse.[2]

Memory studies, more recently, has begun to intersect with work in cultural geography. This follows a more general shift, taking place in cultural studies, from an interest predominately in time to a new focus on space.[3] This can be seen in the growing use of terms such as topography and topophilia, dwelling and dasein, location and place. Although primarily, a memory studies project informed by cultural studies, this thesis draws on work in cultural geography and highlights how memory is spatialized. Current studies in memory often claim that changes in the relationship between space, place and temporality have affected memory and practices of memorialization and that the technologies we use and the spaces we inhabit have led to a pervasive amnesia.

The past, in an accumulative way, is embedded in the landscape all around us, but, out of our response to the passing of time, particular traditions have developed which attempt to fix the past. Monuments, memorials, museums and heritage districts all create specific spaces of memory, described by Tim Edensor as 'memoryscapes'[4] and by Christine M. Boyer as 'rhetorical topoi',[5] which work to organize potential meanings of, and audiences for, the past. My

aim is to examine the relevance of the multiple and materially manifested forms of remembrance by applying current memory studies theory to four spaces of memorial experience in the North East; to personal and civic memory, to tourism and, finally, to film and memory. This thesis makes particular use of Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia, which allows for a critical and positive reading of current forms of memorializing.[6] He uses the concept to identify spaces that are in some way different or other. They are spaces that evoke, and hold together, discontinuous times and spaces. Foucault argues that space is now experienced as a relation between sites. Heterotopias, like utopias, are related to other spaces in that they contest or subvert them. However, heterotopias, unlike utopias, are real places. The concept has predominately been used by architects, geographers and urban theorists to describe and define the characteristics and status of postmodern space with particular reference to its multiplicity and fragmentation.[7] It has not previously been offered as particularly illuminating in relation to sites of memory. In this thesis I explore the possibilities of developing the study of memory sites by exploiting the idea that space can be multiple and disruptive. The systematic application of the concept of heterotopia can provide a deeper understanding of the complexities of memory spaces.

The order of the chapters is based on an analysis of the agencies and arenas of memory production and consumption, ranging from the most private to the most public. Thus, the chapters are arranged in a sequence that begins with those centred on the personal memories of individuals, moves onto public memory of the cityscape and the tourist industry, and then explores the

production of narratives about the past in the film *Get Carter* (Mike Hodges, 1971) which contributes to the cultural memory of the region. In this way the thesis looks at how individuals and social groups articulate their memories into narratives that intersect with both local and global stages and how these different practices position us in relation to the past.[8]

The sites of personal remembrance are the subject of Chapter 2. They have often been considered as a spontaneous form of remembrance that marks out a private space for an individual's lived life against a backdrop of social indifference and anonymity. The home has been seen as the first 'house of memory', and the notion of 'home' more widely has come to act as a metaphor for place.[9] The significance of the childhood home as an important place of memory is seen particularly in the writings of Marcel Proust and Gaston Bachelard. Their works are taken as a starting point for discussion around memory and place. The chapter considers the possibility that a shift has taken place from personal remembrance in the home to personal remembrance in public spaces. I argue that the increasing number of roadside shrines is an indication of the collapse in memorial discourse of public and private registers and that the construction of the memorials results in the creation of heterotopic sites. These sites are not simply the arbitrary placement of objects. They produce intimate topographies of personal memory that until recently were contained within domestic spaces. In so far as personal memory was allowed public expression, it has been restricted to the controlled institutional environment of church or cemetery.

By reading the city as a text, and sites of memory as landscapes of identity, Chapter 3 begins to focus more specifically on the urban spatialization of memory. Monuments, memorials and public art offer a stage on which the city can communicate to its public scenes of 'emblematic [and] rhetorical meaning'.[10] They create spaces in which an audience of memory may potentially be found and organized. They are spaces of communication and meaning. The chapter first considers the role of war memorials in Newcastle city centre. It then compares the sculptures of Antony Gormley and Richard Deacon with the paintings of Dick Ward and Bob Olley. The narratives and images of public memorial art in the North East will be considered in the light of the increasing concern about amnesia and placelessness.

Chapter 4 reassesses academic work on Beamish, the North of England Open Air Museum,[11] and explores the fraught relationship between memory and the museum. I acknowledge some of the real failures of Beamish but argue that most accounts tend to ignore the role of visitor participation that shows memory to be a dynamic process that takes place between the exhibitions, visitors and museum guides. I argue that while Foucault's writing on museums and heterotopia does not adequately describe what is happening at Beamish, the concept still has its uses in relation to the museum. It can allow for a more radical, complete and positive account of the museum than his short notes on heterotopias may suggest.

Chapter 5 considers how the film *Get Carter* contributes to the cultural memory of Newcastle as heterotopic. The film represents Newcastle as a

space of otherness and the analysis shows how conceptualizing particular cinematic spaces as heterotopic can help in understanding, as Elizabeth Hornbeck says, the 'transformation of characters, the moving forward of narrative and the creations of emotions (suspense) as [a] function of space'.[12]

By establishing these memorial discourses I give an account of memory that is particular to the North East but also works towards illustrating wider themes and practices of memorializing in relation to the concept of heterotopia. In this way I explore how memory is inscribed in space and how different agencies and arenas are involved in the practice of urban remembrance.

Newcastle, which this thesis takes as a case study, has undergone massive regeneration in recent years. It is a city with a long turbulent history. From Roman times it has been an important border stronghold. Standing on the River Tyne it is a port and a regional centre. It has always had a distinctive identity embodying the strengths and weaknesses of the North East and its people. The heavy industries of mining and shipbuilding have determined its character and the way it has been perceived. The decline of these industries has made the city a particularly striking example of the move from an industrial to a post-industrial society. It is this shift that has become the predominant narrative of the region. Much of the memorializing of the city articulates concerns at these transformations. Consequently the study of current memorializing provides an insight into the role memory plays in the way a city reconfigures itself in time of upheaval.

Taking inspiration from Maurice Halbwachs' exercise in which he describes a walk through London informed by memory-knowledge, I conduct my own memory walk through Newcastle.[13] Initially much of the memory work considered seems to reflect the tropes of amnesia and nostalgia characteristic of the postmodern city. The thesis challenges the assumption that memory is either lost or depthless in these environments and argues that memorializing can be better understood through the concept of the heterotopia.

The concept of the 'heterotopia' has proven to be enormously productive. However, its very productivity and versatility may become a liability. It can be applied so widely and loosely to many elements of culture that it becomes empty. All activities, institutions and artefacts that involve imagination, experience over time, expectations or anxieties will be describable as heterotopic. The danger then is that the concept ceases to illuminate the particular things to which it is applied, but rather itself stands in need of clarification by reference to those very things.

For this reason I primarily deploy the concept of heterotopia to discuss sites of memory which shape, and are shaped by, spatial ordering. It offers a mode of reading memory spaces that allows us to grasp the way in which memory is currently being experienced in the North East. The thesis, then, is concerned with the city as both the subject and the object of memory and memory practices. It analyses how the city realizes memory in its streets, memorials and public art and how the historical city itself is represented through the

discursive practices of the museum and the cinema to contribute towards a collective cultural memory.

i) What is Memory Studies?

Memory, according to Susannah Radstone, has become a 'central and an organising concept in research in the humanities and in certain branches of the social sciences'.[14] Memory can be found at the centre of numerous debates, the focus of which has often been the status of memory in modernism and postmodernism. However, questions regarding the nature and quality of memory, its fragility and persistence predate these concerns. Memory, 'ephemeral [and] essential',[15] has always intrigued and worried thinkers. Different 'discourses of memory' have been constructed in the disciplines of philosophy, psychology, psychoanalysis, sociology and cultural studies.[16] The following section maps the shift from the philosophical preoccupation with the role of individual memory in establishing personal identity to the essential function of collective memory in establishing both individual personal identity and society's construction of itself.

John Locke, writing in the seventeenth century, makes ambitious claims for the role that memory plays in our lives. He argues that, it is our capacity to remember that makes us human, as it constitutes our very identity. This makes memory of central importance to the study of the philosophy of the self. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* includes one of the earliest, full considerations of identity and memory. He develops an empiricist position

that goes against previous ideas fundamental to Aristotelian philosophy and Christian theology which locate personal identity in the soul.

> For since consciousness always accompanies thinking, and 'tis that, that makes every one to be what he calls *self*; and thereby distinguishes himself from all other thinking things; in this alone consists *personal Identity*, i.e. the sameness of a rational being: and as far as this consciousness can be extended backwards to any past action or thought, so far it reaches the identity of that *person*.[17]

Locke is careful to establish that our sense of self over time does not rely simply on our physical continuity. Because I can track the development of my physical body through space and time I can say that I am the same *organism* now as I was when I was five years old; however, it does not follow that I am the same *person* as I was when I was five years old. Locke provides a psychological basis for personal identity in which memory functions to form identity. So the continuities of memory explain what my personal identity over time consists in and the differentiation between me and other people. These continuities have a forensic role in determining the scope of responsibility, distinguishing human agents from a 'baboon, a robot, a human corpse, a corporation'.[18]

In the *Treatise of Human Nature* David Hume also argues for memory as the basis of identity.

> As a memory alone acquaints us with the continuance and extent of this succession of perceptions, it is to be considered, upon that account chiefly, as the source of personal identity. Had we no memory, we never should have any notion of causation, nor consequently of that chain of causes and effects, which constitute our self or person.[19]

As well as tying memory into the issue of personal identity, philosophers have distinguished the different types of remembering of which we are capable and the ways in which they work for us. Henri Bergson explored the difference

between recollections of personal memories and memory for skilled actions making us alert to the difference between, for example, remembering a grandmother and remembering that 2x2 = 4.[20] Bertrand Russell distinguishes between remembering and other types of cognitive activity such as imagination.[21] In making these distinctions philosophical discourse developed the first of many oppositional metaphors with which to think memory. Another significant contribution of the philosophical tradition is the concern, which Bergson and Russell shared, with the epistemological status of memory. Post-Cartesian philosophy was configured around questions about knowledge and certainty; consequently, the credentials of memory as a source of knowledge became a major preoccupation.

Acknowledging that childhood experiences inform adult identity leads to the further understanding of the interconnectedness of our lives. David Lowenthal notes that the influence of writers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and William Wordsworth spread so that 'within a few decades the relation of a sense of past to personal memory become part of the mental equipment and expectations at least of the educated'.[22] These new ideas challenged the assumption that individual identity is permanent, coherent and determined by the present; they generated a significant shift in the understanding of memory and identity.

In the nineteenth century, considerations about memory and temporal awareness were extended into new fields. Without knowledge of our past, our present and future would have no meaning. This is a founding principle of

Freudian psychoanalysis. There is not room here to go into the relationship between psychoanalysis and memory, particularly in relation to trauma. It is enough here to say that this has been a significant area of memory studies that has created its own definitions and concepts of what memory is and what it does. Richard Terdiman describes psychoanalysis as 'our culture's last Art of Memory'.[23] Psychology's contributions to the study of memory recognise that it is through the sifting of memories that we manage our identity. Through this process we attain a past that we can use, and importantly, one that provides self-respect. Freud's analogy with excavation assumes that the past still exists somewhere waiting to be rediscovered by the remembering subject or psychoanalyst. Psychoanalysis offers to make us whole and complete. Through the 'talking cure' we can discover and free ourselves from the repression that produces neurosis. Our sense of the past is powerful and pervasive. However, the importance of memory does not just lie in its contribution to our understanding of traumatic events but in its role in everyday life. Nicola King takes up Christopher Bollas' insistence that 'the "passing of time… is intrinsically traumatic"' and suggests that it is in 'the "ordinary" process of memory that the self is continuously created and destroyed'.[24]

It was psychologists and philosophers such as Sigmund Freud and Friedrich Nietzsche who highlighted and dramatized the uncertain nature of memory and its motivations.[25] These models have led modern thinking about the character, role and function of memory. That we remember certain things and forget others is now considered to be driven by hidden motivations, desires

and fears of which we may not be conscious. The philosophical theory that memory entirely explains personal identity and that self-hood consists in continuity of memory may seem too ambitious a claim. But we can at least accept the less fundamental notion that our sense of self, of our identity, depends heavily, if not entirely, on memory. Our understanding of our own identities, in social and aesthetic terms, depends on the capacity to remember rather than on metaphysical factors.

ii) The Social Turn

The social turn in the study of memory can be dated from the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century work of sociologists and psychologists such as Emile Durkheim and Frederic Bartlett.[26] Barbie Zelizer attributes the direction of contemporary memory studies to the rediscovery of the work of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs.[27] Halbwachs pointed towards the indistinctness and incompleteness of individual memory. He highlighted the partiality of past recollections, outlining the need for external stimuli to supplement individual memory. The other key aspect of his thinking on memory describes the way in which it is shaped by the interests of the present rather than by those of the past. This has come to be known as the 'presentist' approach to memory.[28] Halbwachs rejected purely psychological explanations for human behaviour and wanted to discover the social conditions or mechanisms that structured individual perception and memory. His approach has made research into memory of renewed importance and relevance to social sciences. In his model, individual memory places itself within collective memory, using it as a kind of sounding board or backdrop,

through which the uncertainty of individual memory is supported and legitimized by the widely agreed documented past.

In *The Collective Memory*, Halbwachs explains how we back up each other's memory, giving each other greater confidence with which to talk about the past and strengthening the belief in what we have actually experienced. His observations may seem obvious or straightforward. However, as Zelizer argues, the shift in focus from individual to collective memory has imbued remembrance with a 'new cast of characters, activities and issues' that forefronts how memory is produced and authenticated.[29] When he asks 'Don't we believe that we relive the past more fully because we no longer express it alone?' he captures the complexity and frailty of memory, as well as our reliance on it.[30]

Halbwachs emphasizes the role memory plays in forming social groups and underlines more forcefully the fact that we cannot make meaning on our own because in 'reality, we are never alone'.[31] The interrelated nature of our knowledge means ideas work to support whole structures of understanding thus making it impossible to isolate particular values and ideas and subject them to impartial judgement.

> other men have had these remembrances in common with me. Moreover, they help me recall them. I turn to these other people, I momentarily adopt their viewpoint, and I re-enter their group in order to better remember.[32]

In a description of the affects of amnesia, Halbwachs stresses that

> it could equally be said that what is damaged is the capacity to enter into relationships with groups in society.[33]

He attributed the weakness of early childhood remembrance to the fact that as children we are not aware of, or heavily involved in, the social groupings that assist identity and memory. For Halbwachs, the main social categories that generate collective memory are the religious community, social class and the family:

> when we hadn't introduced images or thoughts connected with men and groups around us, [memories] are difficult to find. We recall nothing of early childhood because our impressions could not fasten onto any support so long as we were not yet a social being.[34]

The stories that we are told, and which we tell ourselves, throughout our lives, have the affect of producing a sense of wholeness. Stuart Hall proposes that it is our understanding of how and where we fit into these various inherited stories that gives us our sense of identity. 'Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves in, the narratives of the past'.[35] Memory would seem to be an essential component of personal identity and provides a sense of identity over time.

Halbwachs studied under both Henri Bergson and Emile Durkheim and it is in *The Collective Memory*, Mary Douglas claims, that he 'confronted' both schools of thought on memory.[36] In rejecting Bergson and gravitating towards Durkheim, he promoted the now widely supported notion of memory as a collective and social practice. Bergson believed that human understanding of time and memory was rooted in a direct and individual intuition.[37] For Bergson, memories lay in the mind chronologically, permanently and wholly accessible. Douglas outlines Bergson's approach as 'individualistic, psychologistic, subjectivist' while Durkheim's approach tends towards 'collectivist, sociological and seeking objectivity'.[38] However, Stephen Legg

shows that Halbwachs' account of memory does not fit entirely with a Durkheimian concept of a 'reified or superorganic cultural memory' but details how memory is enabled and constrained by social institutions.[39] Here, he has more in common with Louis Althusser's concept of ideological state apparatus and Foucauldian notions of discourse.[40] However, influenced by Durkheim's study of totemism in religious practice, Halbwachs recognized how material things work to represent abstract ideas and to keep stable concepts, that otherwise only exist in people's minds. Halbwachs applied these ideas in his studies of the memory of musicians and of Christian memory.[41] These studies investigate how spatial and temporal frameworks embody our beliefs, providing visual forms of our moral world.

iii) The Structure of Memory Studies

Although under the influence of Halbwachs, alongside Durkheim and Bartlett, memory studies is characterized by an interest in cultural and social concerns, rather than psychological and individualistic frameworks, there is still no agreed definition of the subject, no stable terminology and little consensus on relevant issues. Despite the considerable research undertaken in recent years, memory studies remains centreless. It does not constitute a single discipline perhaps because no particular approach could adequately explain the various ways in which we experience and represent the past.

This thesis, like many studies of memory, adopts an interdisciplinary approach. Memory studies have been conducted across disciplines and

across geographical zones, from above and below. This is partly because there are many types of remembering. We remember publicly and privately, people and places, thoughts and dreams, stories and plans, names and faces, maps and music. Writers have approached memory in numerous ways and wanted to highlight specific instances, aspects and characteristics of memory. Approaches include a focus on particular historical events: World War One,[42] World War Two,[43] the Holocaust;[44] the memory of particular places: Germany,[45] Russia,[46] America,[47] Ireland;[48] memories of marginalized groups and peoples: feminism/gender and memory,[49] diaspora and memory, postcolonial memories;[50] memory and its disorders: repressed memories,[51] flashbulb memories,[52] traumatic memories,[53] false memories; [54] memory and art: architecture and memory,[55] photography, film, television and memory,[56] technology, archiving and memory: computer, digital memory[57] and archiving;[58] objects, practices and sites of memory: clothes and objects,[59] commemorative holidays, calendar, monuments and memorials.[60]

Theorists have used different terminology to cope with the complexities of their studies and to align themselves with a particular approach. Halbwachs 'collective memory' is now accompanied by other key terms that have arisen such as; 'social memory', 'public memory', 'popular memory' and 'cultural memory'; but they are used in various ways and not always clearly defined. Each covers similar concerns with memory as a shared and collective process reliant on social and cultural practices and their chosen term often signals a commitment to a particular discipline or field.

'Collective Memory' and 'social memory' are frequently used by social scientists (sociologists, historians and psychologists) and often interchangeably. Following Halbwachs, the terms signify an interest in memory through the study of the sociological categories of the family, class and religion. From psychology, James Wertsch, David Middleton and Derek Edwards use the term 'collective memory'.[61] Wertsch draws on what he calls 'sociocultural analysis' which is based on the Russian works of Vvgotsky, Luria and Bakhtin and has links with cultural psychology.[62] He stresses the importance of his use of 'remembering', rather than memory, in homage to Frederic Bartlett, 'the father of psychology' and he claims that he and Middleton and Edwards use the term to highlight remembrance as an active process.[63] Sociologists, Barbara Misztal and Barry Schwartz use the phrase 'collective memory' (although Misztal often uses 'collective' and 'social' memory' to mean the same thing).[64] Misztal is 'primarily concerned with social aspects of remembering and the results of this social experience' and so her interest is in the nation, ethnic group and family as 'communities of memory' which she sees as shaping, and shaped by, 'institutions of memory' - schools, courts, museums and mass media.[65] Paul Connerton added a physical dimension by emphasising that what he refers to as 'social memory' is embodied in commemoration ceremonies. He claims 'if there is such a thing as social memory...we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies'.[66] This approach highlights the performative aspect of many memory practices.

Historian John Bodnar and geographer Karen Till, on the other hand, use the term 'public memory'. Bodnar describes it as

> a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication its future. It is fashioned ideally in a public sphere in which various parts of the social structure exchange views.[67]

He is predominantly interested in public commemoration and events and in the different groups that contribute to the construction of public memory. For Till, public memory describes a 'fluid process of negotiation between officials, local groups, academics, journalists and others in the cultural sphere'.[68] Public memory is constructed from the ways in which different groups negotiate memory. She makes clear that public memory includes not just the discourses produced by professional historians and academics but also the 'creation and appropriation of landscapes, cultural objects, narratives.'[69]

More explicitly leftwing and political than these approaches is the oral history work of Luisa Passerini and the Popular Memory Group of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at University of Birmingham (hereafter CCCS).[70] They choose the term 'popular memory' and are committed to collecting the oral histories of ordinary people, focussing on personal narratives.

Before discussing cultural memory it is worth mentioning the more specific and narrow, but perhaps more critical, terms of 'postmemory' and 'prosthetic memory' which have been developed by authors in the field of literature and film. These terms suggest that 'collective memory' is not limited to the past that is shared together, but also includes a representation of the past embodied in various cultural practices. Marianne Hirsch uses postmemory to analyse the experience of children of Holocaust survivors and to:

> describe the relationship of children of survivors of cultural or collective trauma to the experiences of their parents, experiences that they "remember" only as the stories and images with which they grew up but that are so powerful, so monumental, as to constitute memories in their own right. The term is meant to convey its temporal and qualitative difference from survivor memory, it's secondary or second-generation memory quality, its basis in displacement, its belatedness.[71]

Postmemory then, refers not only to a past that is commonly shared but also to a past that is collectively commemorated, even to events not actually experienced. Alison Landsberg similarly developed the concept of 'prosthetic memory' to describe memories not directly experienced but received through cultural forms, particularly through the cinema and the museum.[72]

Anthropologist and Egyptologist Jan Assman has been influential in introducing the term 'cultural memory' which he describes as comprising

> that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific in each epoch, whose "cultivation" serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image. Upon such collective knowledge, for the most part (but not exclusively) of the past, each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity.[73]

He differentiates 'cultural memory' from 'communicative' and 'everyday memory' that he sees as lacking 'cultural characteristics'.[74] Cultural theorist Mieke Bal discusses cultural memory as aligned with cultural studies because of the way in which both privilege memory as a cultural process which is tied to cultural phenomena.[75] This approach sidelines preoccupations with memory as an individual and psychological experience. Memory is seen as a developing process which can be *performed*, consciously or unconsciously. Marita Sturken also comes from a background in cultural studies and argues that cultural memory includes various forms including 'memorials, public art, popular culture, literature, commodities and activism'.[76] She uses the term

'cultural memory' to 'define memory that is shared outside the avenues of historical discourse yet is entangled with cultural products and cultural meaning'.[77] Her focus is on American cultural memory and her analysis includes explorations of the Zapruder film, the television explosion of the Challenger, the videotape of Rodney King being beaten by the Los Angeles Police Department, the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial and an Aids Memorial Quilt. She explains that it is the 'self-consciousness with which notions of culture are attached to these objects of memory'[78] that lead her to use the term 'cultural' rather than 'collective'. She defines 'cultural memory' through its distinction from personal memory and history.

The diversity of memory work and the terms used to describe it, though fruitful, obviously creates problems within the discipline. The main complaint is that, if defined too broadly, memory can be anything it wants. Alon Confino looks at the problems of method that exist in memory studies. He refers to the dangers the subject faces and his paper, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', reads as a warning to future memory scholars.[79] As he says, there are many different ways in which 'to "do" memory'.[80] He is concerned with, and anxious about, the topical approach to memory in which everything is turned into a memory case study in which authors 'describe in a predictable way how people construct the past'.[81] He claims that the choices of topic are 'governed by the fashion of the day' without much concern for the connections between the topics.[82] The new journal and Reader in memory studies published within the last two years tackle some of the problems outlined by Confino and show that there is a

serious effort to engage with these questions. This thesis acknowledges Confino's criticisms and, by using the theory of heterotopia to interpret local sites which have not previously had much academic attention, it makes an original and critical contribution to the way memory is being conceptualized.

The political and ethical debates that surround the practice of memorializing emphasise that remembering is a complex social activity. This thesis, unlike academic history, will not be concerned strictly with issues of authenticity or accuracy. Nor will it take its inspiration from psychology, as the supposedly 'value- and power-free study of processes taking place inside the heads of individual human beings'.[83] Rather the emerging disciplinary field of memory studies is concerned with the social, cultural and political processes that produce a sense of the past in which the 'individual and the social are connected through cultural artefacts'.[84] I have chosen to use the term 'cultural memory' rather than 'social memory', 'public memory', 'popular memory' or 'collective memory', as I want to align my work with others who have used this term and to maintain the study's link to cultural studies. I want to situate cultural memory alongside work in cultural studies predominately because of the discipline's interest in, and foregrounding of, issues of identity and power that I see as crucial to shaping most cultural memory texts and practices.

iv) The History of Memory Studies

There are a number of useful accounts that plot the history of memory studies.[85] The now familiar narrative usually begins in 1925 with Halbwachs. In their account, Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, reference the work of

Marc Bloch and Aby Warburg along with more frequently cited Frederic Bartlett as key figures in the development of social memory studies.[86] They record a decline in interest between 1940s and 1980s[87] and Barbie Zelizer attributes the direction of memory studies in the 1980s to the rediscovery of the work of Halbwachs.[88] Questions regarding the upsurge in interest in memory have been keenly debated and as yet there is no single agreed answer. Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam argue that the notion of 'collective memory' pretends to be a 'bright shining star' solving long-standing problems when it is really rather 'a molten rock' that forcefully obliterates 'fine distinctions that have so far well served historical research'.[89] Their '"map of uses and abuses" of the term' illustrates their belief that the term 'collective memory' is a 'misleading new name for the old familiar "myth".'[90] This research encourages questions about the assumed usefulness of the term and encourages the question, what does 'memory' allow us to say that previous terms have not? Although the concept of memory has been employed rather loosely it has proven to be particularly productive in opening up a space from which to contest the traditional discipline of historiography. It is perhaps easier to say what memory isn't rather than what it is. It has been the subject of debate most especially where it impinges on historiography.

The postmodernist criticism of history as the main and most appropriate tool with which to know the past is one of the main factors that contributed to the rise of memory studies. History, as it developed during the Enlightenment, was understood as the objective record of progress, privileging cold facts over myth or religious narratives. The past was considered to be clearly separated

from the present as something that could be analyzed and reconstructed. In reaction to the traditional political or diplomatic history as laid out by the German historian, Leopold Von Ranke, alternative ways of writing history began to develop.[91] 'Rankian' or political history writes the history of the powerful - politicians and royalty - and positions them as the primary makers of history. This is the history of 'torch-carriers', who have contributed to the shape and experience of the world or, as W. B. Gallie puts it, 'the civilisation that is now common to us all'.[92] He points out that, for historians like Ranke, 'us all' meant only educated Europeans and North Americans.[93] Walter Benjamin's view that there can be no 'document of civilisation which is not at the same time a document of barbarism' takes a rather more negative interpretation of this history as a result of battles won.[94]

Challenges came from both postmodern attacks on the theoretical assumptions of the study of historiography and the work of multiculturalists to voice the silent history of repressed groups. Both championed hegemonic notions of memory contestation, oral histories and popular memory and highlighted the political use of the past. The Annales School, founded by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre in 1929, incorporated social scientific methods into history, widening the focus of historical subjects to include material culture and *mentalities* and displacing politics and war from the centre of study. Patrick Hutton also outlines the importance of the 1960s French historians of *mentalities,* such as Philippe Ariès and Maurice Agulhon, in the development of a tradition he sees extending up to the publication of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *Invention of Tradition* in the 1980s.[95] The CCCS, influenced

by these works, developed social and Marxist history and focused on the perspectives of ordinary individuals, women and the working class, as well as on marginalized regions, such as Africa and India. For the CCCS, popular memory provides an addition or alternative to conventional historiography as both an object of study and as a political practice.[96] Avowedly socialist and committed to the idea of a genuinely popular history, the CCCS advocated the idea that the production of history should be extended to include all the ways in which the past is constructed, ways in which everyone participates, although not equally. The tradition of cultural history from the Annales School to the CCCS popularized the 'history from below' project. The aim was to allow the discipline of history to employ more emotive and subjective research material than the data collected by traditional methods. This involved the inclusion of the voices of ordinary citizens.

Theoretically, new ways of thinking were also developing which presented history as a form of narrative indistinguishable from the dramatic and imaginative. Hayden White, heavily influenced by Michel Foucault was the forerunner of a new kind of history. 'Metahistory' describes a practice that rejects causality in history and extends the use of tropes from linguistic usage; it is interested in use of plot and narrative in historical writing.[97] For Foucault and deconstructionist historians, the 'undiscoverable, possibly meaningless and open-ended nature of the past' is 'cause for celebration'.[98] History becomes a study of 'how societies interpret, imagine, create, control, regulate and dispose of knowledge, especially through claims to truth and certainty'.[99] Foucault understood the importance of the fight for memory. He described it

as a ‘subjugated knowledge’: ‘...memory is actually a very important factor in struggle…if one control’s people’s memory, one controls their dynamism’.[100]

In these models memory and history are opposed. Focus on social and collective experiences finds expression in the concept of memory rather than history. It became clear that the ways in which history and memory studies approach the past are different in their methodologies, their priorities and their understanding of the relationship between individual and social memory. A study of the past informed by cultural studies began to adopt the category of memory in order to reach a better understanding of subjectivity, identity and power in relation to the past. For Halbwachs and Pierre Nora history and memory are diametrically opposed. For Halbwachs, ‘History is dead memory, a way of preserving pasts to which we no longer have an “organic” experiential relation’.[101] History, according to Nora, ‘besieges memory, deforming and transforming it, penetrating and petrifying it’.[102]

Now, however, memory is more often conceived as being dialectically related to the historical, rather than being the Other of it.

> representing Nature to history’s Culture, memory either gives us unvarnished truths or tells uncritical tales. Collapse the Nature-Culture distinction as poststructuralist criticism has done in various ways, and both memory and history look like heavily constructed narratives, with only institutionally regulated differences between them.[103]

This approach stresses the interdependence of history and memory rather than insisting on their opposition. The suggestion is that the two complement each other and it is the tension between them that is productive. Susan Crane points out that both Pierre Nora and Yosef Yerushalmi, whose analyses

reflect Foucauldian concepts of power/knowledge and counter-memory, set history against memory; in Halbwach's account, on the other hand, there is room for a more inclusive interpretation. Crane posits that his work

> 'contains an implicit possibility of a recombination of historical and collective memory. For if historical memory is only one form of collective memory it may well be that collective memory has not been lost or supplanted but, in fact has persisted in a way altogether unlike what has been proposed so far'.[104]

The attack on history gave rise to interest in memory as an organizing concept. However, the developments taking place in the discipline of history were not the only reasons for the rise in memory studies. Key responses to the upsurge in the interest in memory have come from various influential cultural theorists and cultural historians including Jean Baudrillard, Fredric Jameson, Pierre Nora, Andreas Huyssen, Richard Terdiman and Paul Riceour. Their accounts often describe a paradoxical model of memory: in which memory is both in crisis and booming, is simultaneously 'lost and over-present'.[105] Olick and Robbins take Nora and Huyssen's work as examples of this position.[106] Nora's often quoted 'We speak so much of memory because we have so little of it left'[107] encapsulates this tension. Huyssen's work explores the growth of museums and monuments whilst pronouncing the 'waning of history' under postmodernism. It seems there is too little of the right sort of memory and too much of the wrong sort. Radstone claims that these models of memory are a result of the way in which these writers historicize memory.[108] An historical discussion of memory has been generated which maps memorial concerns onto modern and postmodern worlds and discourses which means it is dependent on how these terms are characterized and defined. Susannah Radstone has powerfully argued this

position, suggesting that 'any mapping of memory's recent vicissitudes hangs on an interpretation of memory's place in the work of Benjamin, Freud, Baudelaire, Proust' in which memory is seen as unstable and threatened but also as alternative and as a cure to the pathologies of modern life.[109]

Most accounts of memory reflect on the widespread re-evaluations of human experience and knowledge that have been precipitated by a century of horrors and rapid industrial, social and technological change. These factors fundamentally challenged previously unproblematic ideas of representation and the past in both historical writing and imaginative works and gave rise to the renewed interest in memory. Changes in our experience of memory are attributed to a variety of sources. Multiculturalism has attacked historiography as a dominating and repressive discourse. Classical Marxism and Gramsci's theory of hegemony provide a class-based account of the politics of memory seen in the works of the CCCS and Hobsbawm's and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* which highlight memory contestation, popular memory and the instrumentalisation of the past.[110] Postmodernism questions the conceptual underpinnings of linear historicity, truth and power. Rapid technological change affects the form and content of memory.[111] Pierre Nora asserts that changes in memory and memorializing are due to the "acceleration of history" by which he means 'that the most continuous or permanent feature of the modern world is no longer continuity or permanence but change'.[112] Mass migration has destabilized categories such as home, nation, community and identity and has replaced them with foreignness, difference, dispersion and altereity.

Negative critiques of the status of memory, from memory studies scholars such as Andreas Huyssen and Richard Terdiman, are indebted to earlier formulations of amnesia, articulated by proponents of Critical Theory who focused upon the relationship between amnesia and reification.[113] Critiques of mass production and mass entertainment led by Adorno and Benjamin, and continued by Jameson, see the danger of commodity culture as a form of cultural forgetting.[114] Current studies are nearly always made to fit in with the left-wing political agenda of the Frankfurt School. This position has been inherited with little awareness of the nuances of the discussions of memory to be found in the writings of Adorno and Benjamin. Radstone recognises that for them 'the crisis of memory was embodied, most forcefully in its reification in commodity fetishism'.[115] However, she argues they still held that forgetting could be reversed by a form of 'radical remembrance'.[116] Sturken insists that in a culture in which the 'boundaries of art, commodity and remembrance are so easily traversed' it has become harder to accept the approach of the Frankfurt School. She claims that 'it no longer makes sense, if it ever did, to dismiss commodities as empty artefacts'.[117]

Technological changes then, are seen to have altered our experience of time and space and our relation to the past and thus our historical sensibilities. Metaphors used to capture memory have been linked historically to the ways in which information is recorded, stored and retrieved. Our memories have thus been described as 'impressions', as being 'etched', as 'imprints' and as 'photographic'.[118] Tracing memory metaphors from the wax tablet to the

computer reveals the history of technology. Jacques Le Goff has called these 'mnemotechnologies'.[119] He identifies five periods of memory: the first describes 'ethnic memory' held by people without writing; the second describes the shift from the predominantly oral memory of prehistory to a written culture in Antiquity; the third, beginning with the Middle Ages, sees the 'Christianization' of memory; the fourth stage covers the Renaissance to the present, and assesses the impact of the printing press and the widespread establishment of museums and libraries; finally the electronic technologies of the twentieth century radically alter the recording and storing of information.[120] Classic mnemonics emerge due to available materials and the cultural, religious and political response to them. For example, the materials of wood, stone and plastic, and the practices of writing, print and photography have each engendered distinct forms of memorializing. Memory metaphors mirror the cultural zeitgeist of their users and social histories are revealed. In metaphors we see 'preserved what the author saw around him when he was searching for powerful images for the hidden processes of the memory'.[121] Mnemotechnologies are never simply empty containers for memory but shape the quality and nature of the memory that we can have.

Anxiety over the frailty of memory has always been fuelled by a fear of the new, particularly new technologies that have the power to shape our historical sensibilities. Aristotle worried about the effects of writing on our natural memory. Now, questions that have haunted cultural theory at least since Walter Benjamin, have raised once more the relationship between memory

and technological invention and its effect on the form, content and experience of memory.

Memory's ambiguous relationship with the image and with representation is reflected in a key moment in cultural criticism - Theodor Adorno's famous statement that it is 'barbaric to continue to write poetry after Auschwitz'[122] Historical discourse, coupled with silence, has been seen as the most appropriate mediation of the events that occurred, in recognition that some experiences cannot be, and should not be, reflected in art. Imaginative representations of the Holocaust are considered suspect not only because they fail to capture the horror but because any attempt to fictionalise this period of history is seen as objectionable. We should not impose our aesthetic response on the brute reality of Auschwitz or attempt to produce a definitive interpretation of it.

Roland Barthes' analysis of the image in *Camera Lucida* provides another significant contribution to the understanding of representation and memory. Barthes wrote of photography as blocking memory rather than capturing it or recalling it. He writes:

> One day, some friends were talking about their childhood memories they had any number: but I, who had just been looking at my old photographs had none left, surrounded by these photographs I could no longer console myself with Rilke's line "sweet as memory the mimosas steep the bedroom": the photograph does not steep the bedroom.[123]

Cultural memory is now predominantly produced through representation through photographic images, cinema and TV. These mnemonic aids are also screens that actively block out other memories. Postmodernist critics such as

Fredric Jameson and Jean Baudrillard have bemoaned the 'waning of historicity', in the perpetual present of the 'hyperreal'.[124] Their accounts introduced 'retro', 'pastiche' and 'nostalgia' as key characteristics of postmodernism.[125] Jameson declares that we have entered

> a new and original historical situation in which we are condemned to seek History by way of our own pop images and simulacra of that history, which itself remains forever out of reach.[126]

Our perceived inability to engage meaningfully with the past is understood as an affect of the increasingly fragmented, media-driven world in which we live. The advent of writing, photography, film, TV and the internet have each been assumed to produce and to escalate a culture of amnesia.

But it is the Holocaust that holds a special place in memory studies and has ultimately proven to be its most productive subject. The sheer number of works shows how cataclysmic the Holocaust has been for Western civilisation and the principles of language and representation. The effects of which have dominated the academic field since the late 1960s. Dominick La Capra's suggestion that the Holocaust was a 'point of rupture between the modern and the postmodern',[127] exemplifies how the Holocaust has been framed in much academic comment on memory.

It is of vital importance to historicize memory and there have been significant changes in the technologies of memory that have profoundly affected the nature and quality of remembrance. However, one must be wary of histories of memory such as those of Terdiman and Nora that clearly lapse into romanticism. Terdiman himself recognizes the brute imposition of an historical

model that borrows from Ferdinand Tönnies but ultimately he cannot resist its explanatory possibilities

> Tönnies account…from forms of social existence based upon traditional family and village structures to new forms rooted in urban existence, in the anonymous market, and in the abstract relations of civil society (of course the polarity of this model posits may be excessively schematic as with Simmel, Lukacs, Benjamin). But its advantage is it catches the shift that played a major part on determining what I am calling "memory crisis".[128]

However, theories of memory that suggest that before the city, the cinema and the computer, an authentic and stable memory existed have been criticised. As Antze and Lambek state 'To the degree that memory is linked to identity politics it cannot be reduced to a single macro-historical "crisis"' so that 'any simple before and after picture' is ludicrously inadequate at dealing with the profound and complex functions of memory'.[129] Jay Winter's discussion of the history of modernism in relation to memorial traditions suggests that it is 'much more complicated than a simple linear divide between "old" and "new" might suggest'.[130] While such a model demonstrates how 'memory' operates for some writers as a catalyst, generating particular crises in a broader political agenda, it is limiting. This approach supports and develops Susannah Radstone's suggestion that memory can hold in tension notions and characteristics of modernism and postmodernism, rather than providing an account which unproblematically maps memory's changing status onto the broad periods of modernity and postmodernity.[131]

As historicizing memory has proven to be controversial and yet productive what is the nature of memory now? The following discussion establishes the links between memory studies and cultural geography and discusses the

special place memorializing has taken in new ways of understanding postmodern cities in a period of globalisation. I ask what it means to create a heterotopic space of remembering. And I argue that each of the memory spaces considered can be described as heterotopic and that there is something necessarily heterotopic about all memorial forms. I suggest that memorializing offers cultural theorists new ways of understanding the current changes in temporality and space.

v) Walking in the City of Memory

> The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the window, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls.[132]
>
> The city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the *locus* of the collective memory…Memory is the consciousness of the city'.[133]

Pierre Nora's 'lieux de mémoire' ('places of memory'), Jay Winter's 'sites of memory' and Christine Boyer's 'memoryscapes' and 'rhetorical topoi' focus on the study of memory in so far as it is inscribed in space.[134] The dominance in our cities of traditional commemorative forms, such as war memorials, monuments, memorials and statues demonstrates the desire to create unique and special sites for collective memory. Furthermore the performance of ritual acts of commemoration at these sites is seen as a means of developing a collective memory. Paul Connerton, in particular, has emphasized the way in which embodied memory is performed in space by various different groups, from establishment figures - the Queen, the Prime Minister and the local mayor - to veterans, locals and tourists.[135] These commemorative places are

invested with extraordinary significance and assigned a qualitatively distinct place in a group's conception of the past. However, there is another way of understanding the relationship between memory and space inspired predominately by the work of Walter Benjamin.[136] Benjamin, and later Michel de Certeau,[137] adopt a more organic and subjective approach, seeing the city as a whole, as the repository of people's memories, as a kind of palimpsest which simultaneously holds together multiple times and cultures. The general understanding about the ways in which memory is spatial is seen in these two approaches. Yates, Halbwachs and Nora claim that it is through associative spaces and places that we are able to remember. Memorials, monuments, commemorative sites, street names and civic spaces can express group identity from above through architectural order. These memory spaces are an effort to make the city mappable and to control meaning. Memory, on the other hand, can be seen through the physical and associative traces left by interweaving patterns of everyday life. Benjamin's approach, mediated through the figure of the flâneur, sees collective memory as embedded, or left as traces in the layers of city sediment. Although I am primarily concerned with purposeful acts of commemoration these models of memory in place provide useful insights into the way memory is experienced in everyday life and contribute towards an understanding of the relationship between collective and individual acts of remembrance which is necessary to the study.

There is a complex relationship between notions of memory and space that has become a central theme in a number of different disciplines – cultural geography, urban theory, tourism and heritage studies. Memory is made

tangible and fixed through spatial practices of monument building and architecture while spatial metaphors are often used to describe the character and function of human memory. The concept of space is not solely used to explore memory in relation to real physical places but has also been used as a metaphor for memory.

Freud described psychoanalysis as a process whereby patients' memories are excavated as an archaeologist uncovers the layers of a buried city.[138] For Umberto Eco, remembering is compared to building and moving through space. He claims that in talking about memory we are 'already talking about architecture. Memories are built as a city is built'.[139] Metaphors of memory tend to 'transform the temporal into the spatial' and can be 'intensely visual'.[140] 'Layers are excavated, veils lifted and screens removed'.[141] Radstone and Hodgkin have noted that to do memory work it is often 'necessary to move about on the surface of the world' and that:

> If one set of metaphors for memory concerns depth and containment (closet, cauldron archaeological dig) another emphasises its topographical aspect reminding how clearly memory is tied to place.[142]

Memory studies have used spatial metaphors in an effort to capture some of the meanings and characteristics of memory and remembrance. Spatial models have been recurrent in reflections on memory, from the Renaissance arts of memory to the more recent concept of 'sites of memory.'

In a relatively early work on memory, Frances Yates describes mnemonic strategies used by orators in Medieval and Renaissance times that worked by placing symbolic images within imagined places.[143] To practice the art of memory the orator must imagine some place, such as a house, in which to

place the images representing what he wishes to remember. Frances Yates explains that this artificial memory is dependent upon the recollection of images mapped onto virtual spaces.[144] In his book on oratory, Cicero had told how

> persons desiring to train this faculty [of memory] must select places and form mental images of the things they wish to remember and store those images in the places, so that the order of the places will preserve the order of the things and the images of the things will denote the things themselves; and we shall employ the places and images respectively as a wax writing-tablet and the letters written on it.[145]
>
> 'We require…places, either real or imaginary, and images or simulacra which must be invented. Images are as words by which we note the things we have to learn, so that as Cicero says, "We use places as wax and images as letters."'[146]

The orator could then take a mental walk through the rooms, visiting each of the images in their place, in order to recall in sequence the points of his speech. Walking is seen as generating or encouraging remembrance in other accounts.[147]

Halbwachs includes a discussion of a walk through London in his work the *Collective Memory*. He realises that what he is able to notice on his walk is enriched by a wealth of information from a variety of sources. He describes how architects, historians, painters and businessmen have all sharpened his impressions. These forms of knowledge alter his relationship to the world around him. The mixture of stories and images in our minds come together to comprise our ideas of the past.[148] In recognising that he carries around a 'baggage load of historical remembrances' that can be increased 'through conversation and reading' Halbwachs puts a positive spin on the act of memory.[149] He establishes it, not only as a shared, evolving and proactive

process, but as one which we can control through the interaction of consumption and communication. These ideas have come to characterise contemporary notions of the function of memory. However, while Halbwachs' notion of memory as evolving and changing is a very modern idea, his approach to place is inhibited by what are now outmoded ideas around stability and rootedness. Having contributed to the research of religious totems used to develop Durkheim's study 'The Elementary Forms of Human Life', Halbwachs had already seen how abstract ideas and beliefs could be attached to physical objects or sites. In his own study, 'The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land' Halbwachs attends to the ways in which, in different periods, collective Christian memory adapts by attaching itself to sites associated with Jesus.[150] These places, it was thought, had the divine nature of Jesus manifested in them. He recognises how the idea of the Holy City took form and how people began to build churches and chapels to commemorate certain places spoken of in the gospels, noting the forces that combined to preserve some traditions while excluding or forgetting others. Belief, Halbwachs claimed, was 'strengthened by taking root in this environment'.[151] This meant Christians wanted to discover and continually visit the places where Jesus had 'been tried, crucified, buried and resurrected, and where he appeared to his disciples'.[152] He begins to wonder what would have become of the Christian faith had it not created such memory spaces which highlight particular events and moments of Jesus' life as worthy of pilgrimage. He concludes that an abstract concept or dogma 'would have left no recollection at all, had it failed to develop roots in a specific place'.[153]

The topography Halbwachs describes is ambiguous. Whilst he says that groups leave an imprint on place, which acts as a 'reality which endures', he also describes in great detail how several spaces of memory are superimposed on the Holy Land. He uses descriptions that suggest a place that is both unchanging and changing. However, ultimately Halbwachs held that it was the endurance and continuity of place that allowed for the secure embodiment of memory

> Now space is a reality that endures: since our impressions rush by, one after another, and leave nothing behind in our mind, we can understand how we can recapture the past only by understanding how it is, preserved by our physical surroundings. It is to space – the space we occupy, traverse, have continual access to, or can at any time reconstruct in thought and imagination - that we must turn our attention. Our thought must focus on this or that category if remembrance is to reappear.[154]

Like Halbwachs, humanist geographers see place as a stable category. This form of geography uses a 'subject-centred' approach informed by philosophies of 'being-in' which emphasize the centrality of place in human identity. The European philosophy of existentialism and phenomenology encouraged new ways of thinking about space as a lived dimension.[155] Heidegger's concept of *Dasein* (dwelling) that describes the human subject as tied to place has been particularly influential in the field of human geography.[156] Yi Fu Tuan's concept of 'topophilia' describes the 'affective bond between people and place'.[157] Tuan, along with other geographers such as Edward Relph,[158] develops the notion of authentic, stable places in which we are 'at home', and which are aligned with ideas of attachment, routine, and continuity.[159] Tuan argues that places are 'locations in which people have long

memories, reaching back beyond…their individual childhoods to the common lores of bygone generations…Time is needed to create place'.[160]

However, there has long been the sense that memory is becoming disconnected and separated from place and a belief that there are no longer authentic and stable places to house memory. This shift is attributed to a number of factors: the impact of mass communications and technology resulting in processes of 'time-space compression';[161] the creation of historic zones and heritage marketing; regeneration projects and practices of gentrification; an emphasis on multiculturalism and the increase in mass immigration resulting in the collapse of ethnic and national boundaries. These fears are reflected in memory studies work.

Pierre Nora's work particularly has been accused of historicising memory in a western and romantic fashion. Patrick Hutton has situated Nora's work in the tradition of Ariés and Agulhon which maps the physical commemoration sites of the nineteenth century.[162] His work, although seminal in the field of memory studies, occupies ambiguous position. Peter Carrier explains that Pierre Nora's term *lieux de mémoire* 'is not necessarily a topographical place'; it also describes 'points of shared emotional attachments, for example 'Vichy' or 'Gastronomy''.[163] The 'sites' are predominantly physical – monuments or memorials - but his use of the spatial metaphor encouraged a way of thinking about memory as opening up both real and imagined spaces of identity. He has presided over a massive recording and cataloguing of the 'places' and symbols that can be said to make up French identity from the Louvre to

croissants and his work has contributed to the idea that memory is everywhere and in everything.[164]

However, the philosophical argument Nora wishes to make is on the whole negative. For Nora, 'memory has been torn'.[165] *Les lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory have developed because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire* - 'real environments of memory'. He sees this as a result of the disappearance of peasant culture - 'that quintessential repository of meaning'.[166] Places of memory are a symptom of rupture for Nora, representing the end of tradition. And whilst his analysis was essentially meant as a project of deconstruction he has been accused of sentimentality and nostalgia that turn his project itself into a 'national monument'.[167] Paul Antze and Michael Lambek have argued, 'it is unlikely that there ever were untroubled, homogenous *milieux de mémoire*'.[168]

Nevertheless the legacy that is so apparent in Pierre Nora's binary of *milieux de mémoire* (organic places of stable, authentic, lived memory) and *lieux de mémoire* (empty, commodified places) has proven difficult to escape. Stephen Legg details key theorists whose work has hinged on such nostalgic dualism:

> Kierkegaard's absurdity of faith versus Hegelian reason; Schopenhauer's Buddhist reconciliation with the world versus Hegelian historical optimism; Karl Marx's primitive and undifferentiated past versus modern division of labour; Friedrich Nietzsche's (imagined) alpine romantic sublime or an (imaginary yet historical) Greece versus unhappy integrated civilisations, Socratic rationalism; Ferdinand Tönnies gemeinschaft (community) versus gesellschaft (society); Max Weber's irrational satisfaction of charisma and tradition versus rational, bureaucratic society; Claude Levi –Strauss's oral traditions and direct contact versus private societies of written documents; George Simmel's individual freedom and creativity versus transcendental homelessness; Emile Durkheim's ascriptive feudal society of strong

> communities versus rootless, ambiguous identities; the Chicago School of Sociology's cohesive society versus atomized, heterogeneous, and disorganised city; Theodor Adorno's unadulterated needs, local consumption versus age of overproduction and commodification and Fernand Braudel's trading markets versus money-based and infra-structure based markets.[169]

Legg points out, however, that in memory studies it is Tönnies' model that has been given precedence.[170] Tönnies' model describes a shift from 'gemeinschaft' memory communities characterized by tradition and repetition to the merely recollective 'gesellschaft' memory of urban life.[171] The importance of this model, Legg argues, derives from its presentation of nostalgia as 'both a temporal division and an orientation in space'.[172] In this way theorizing on memory has inherited the binary oppositions that characterize theorizing on space: old/new, pre-industrial/post-industrial, rural/urban, good/bad.

Marshall Berman outlines the way in which the 'great modernists',[173] including Marx and Nietzsche, simultaneously attack these new emerging environments but also recognise its radical possibilities and potential for play. They are torn between nostalgia for a rooted and stable past and an excitement at the new experiences that will necessarily mean the destruction of the 'physical and social landscape of our past and our emotional links with those lost worlds'.[174] The structures thrown up in a surge of progress weren't intended to be permanent.

> "All that is solid" – from the clothes on our backs to the looms and mills that weave them, to the men and women who work the machines, to the houses and neighbourhoods the workers live in, to the cities and whole regions and even nations that embrace them all - all these are made to be broken tomorrow, smashed or shredded or pulverised or dissolved, so they can be recycled or replaced next week.[175]

Of interest is the view taken of monuments built with memorializing and permanence in mind. Berman writes of the 'pathos' of these structures that are 'blown away like frail reeds by the very forces of capitalist development they celebrate'; despite their defining purpose 'they are closer in their social functions to tents and encampments than to "Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, Gothic cathedrals"'.[176] The result of which, Berman notes is that we ought to be surprised 'not that so much of our architectural heritage has been destroyed but that there is anything still left to preserve'.[177] David Harvey too recognises that modern life is marked by notions of 'the fleeting, the ephemeral, the fragmentary' and describes the resulting effects:

> To begin with, modernity can have no respect even for its own past, let alone that of any premodern social order. The transitoriness of things makes it difficult to preserve any sense of historical continuity. If there is a meaning to history, then that meaning has to be discovered and defined from within the maelstrom of change.[178]

Virginia Woolf's essays on London, which can be described as a memory walk much like Halbwachs', also reflects on the lack of permanence in the built environment.

> The charm of modern London is that it is not built to last; it is built to pass. Its glassiness, its transparency, its surging waves of coloured plaster give a different pleasure and achieve a different end from that which was desired and attempted by the old builders and their patrons, the nobility of England. Their pride required the illusion of permanence. Ours, on the contrary, seems to delight in proving that we can make stone and brick as transitory as our own desires. We do not build for our descendents, who may live up in the clouds or down in the earth, but for ourselves and our own needs. We knock down and rebuild as we expect to be knocked down and rebuilt.[179]

The city in these models is seen as a particularly bad place for memory. Walter Benjamin was sensitive to both the personal memories embedded in

place and of the city's bombardment of the senses that causes memory to retreat and fail. As Boyer surmises, this fragmented place, disconnected from time and tradition, engendered new memory disturbances: the increasing medicalization of memory introduced the terms 'amnesia, paramnesia and hyperamnesia' sparking a desire to cultivate a healthier relationship with the past.[180] Writing on modernity and the city introduced a whole host of concepts and personalities - Gustav Le Bon's 'crowd', Charles Baudelaire's 'flâneur', Georg Simmel's 'stranger', Guy Debord's 'society of spectacle' - that inhabit the modern metropolis and undermine memory.[181]

It is Benjamin's extensive writings on the city in particular that have explored, among other things, the status of memory in the metropolis marked by fragmentation and commodification.[182] Most notable is the 'Arcades Project' (or *Passagenarbeit*) which is dedicated to describing urban life, the Paris arcades and childhood remembrances.[183] The latter is based on remembered images, and personal memory and takes it's inspiration from Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past* and the notion of *mémoire involontaire.*[184] Benjamin's analyses of memory in the city are ambivalent. The shocks of the city produce forgetfulness but also result in the *mémoire involontaire*. Benjamin is concerned with the decline of storytelling, which is linked to memory, and the decline of *erfahrung (*experience) both of which are engendered by the flux and fragmentation experienced in the metropolis. However, although the shocks of the city are seen to produce amnesia, these shocks also contribute to a form of awakening. Gilloch is careful to point out

that, despite Benjamin's belief in a memory crisis his is not a nostalgic or wholly negative critique:

> The discontinuous and disparate must be gathered together and preserved by the Critical Theorist, not to create new coherent stories, new overarching narratives, but so that they may be assembled in startling juxtapositions which engender surprise and recognition.[185]

Benjamin developed, across a number of works, a method of mapping the city, a sort of archaeology, which sought to uncover the fragments of urban life. In this way he hoped to effect a reawakening.[186] Benjamin's interest in collecting objects, story-telling, walking and architecture is connected to his belief in the re-enchantment of the urban space and modern experience. Memory too, it was believed, could erupt and restore experience.

After the humanist geographers, critical cultural geographers have made it their task to expose the effects of capitalism and its attendant practices on the material environment.[187] These studies have meant that the belief in a prelapsarian time in which memory and memory places were pure, organic and spontaneous has waned. The humanistic geography that had argued for the stability of place as 'a centre of meaning and a field of care'[188] was undermined by postmodern geography. The influence of post-structuralism, postcolonial theory, psychoanalytic theory and feminism has encouraged thinking on how issues of power and identity are inscribed in the city. The impact of these ideas has meant that the city began to be thought of as a place of multiple identities and, therefore, as a place of multiple histories and multiple geographies. As Allen Pred writes:

> There cannot be one grand history, one grand human geography, whose telling only awaits an appropriate metanarrative. Through their participation in a multitude of practices and associated power relations, through their participation in a multitude of structuring processes, people make a plurality of histories and construct a plurality of human geographies.[189]

The work of feminist geographers, Gillian Rose and Doreen Massey shows space to be split along lines of power linked to the identity politics of race, gender and class.[190] Neither did the city escape the all-encompassing desire to read everything as text, a move engendered by the semiotics of Roland Barthes.[191] Jonathan Raban exemplifies this approach. He describes his notion of the soft city as follows:

> The soft city as we imagine it, the soft city of illusion, myth, aspiration, nightmare, is as real, maybe more real, than the hard city one can locate on maps, in statistics, in monographs of urban sociology and demography and architecture.[192]

Similarly, Mike Crang and Penny Travlou argue that 'Urban fabric can become a text, inscribed with located and spatialized elements; the epigraphy of memorializing space parallels writing to landscape'.[193] They describe the way in which we simultaneously live among different times as they are present in landscape and archaeology. They paint a picture of humans occupying a 'Proustian dimension where people and things occupy a place in time that is incommensurable with the one they have in space'.[194] They argue that time is not simply mapped out on space but buried and hidden in the landscape - the passage of time is captured in space-bound form. Furthermore, they suggest that places do 'not offer unification or stability but instead they are a point of fracturing where difference enters the urban order'.[195] Here the city begins to be discussed in terms of legibility, discourse and narrative. The earlier impact

of existential and phenomenological philosophy on humanist geographers begins to give way to contemporary philosophy and cultural studies. These studies engender new areas of concern for geographers primarily focussing on representation.

These ways of theorising encourage such a consideration of the memorial aspects of the city as a variety of imaginaries. The historical imagination of a city embodied in monuments, memorials and public art is one sort of city imaginary. The notion of the city as a palimpsest describes how the topography of the city has been constantly reworked and restored creating a layered memory through which we read traces of the past. Christine Boyer's extensive study, *The City of Collective Memory*, offers new modes of seeing and describing the shifts in social space that have occurred at different stages of economic organisation. Boyer describes the city, in its current stage, as the centreless postmodern city of spectacle, which has no subject responsible for its arrangement, no motive force behind its accepted fragmentation.[196]

> City planners from antiquity to modernism have tried to make the city into a mnemonic, mapping into it chains of monuments or sites that would act as a sort of text, reminding the pedestrians of official history and knowledge. The narrative of the drift, however, remained open, contingent and shifting.[197]

Here we see the city as spectacle and artifice. Boyer claims that the city is 'flaunting its image as if in the theatre, the museum, the photograph, or the cinema.'[198] Contemporary memory is increasingly communicated through media representations. Detached from local environments memory is no longer bound by place. Gaston Bachelard and Henri Lefebvre particularly, have contributed to the idea that place is as much an imagined entity as a real

one. Bachelard's *Poetics of Space* is a celebration of the imagined aspects of space.[199] Bachelard's space is not mathematical or scientific but poetic; the space he often focuses on is the childhood 'house of dream memory'.[200] His phenomenological method, when applied to space, sees it as 'lived in, not in its positivity, but with all the particularity of the imagination. Particularly, it nearly always exercises an attraction.'[201] For Bachelard 'space seized upon by the imagination cannot remain indifferent space'.[202] Lefebvre aims to unify a trialectics of space to explain the multiple ways in which it is experienced. 'Spatial practice', refers to the space which embodies 'a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality…and urban reality'.[203] "Representations of space' includes the conceptualized spaces of the scientists, technocrats, and urban planners.[204] Finally, he describes 'representational space' which is 'space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols'.[205] Lefebvre's work and Bachelard's sense of a 'poetics' of ordinary, everyday space suggests how spaces 'both imaginary and real'[206] might be addressed together. Their notion of place produced by varying representational practices has been taken up in contemporary writing. Rob Shields' analysis of how nineteenth century literature has contributed to the myth of the North–South divide shows how 'cultural classifications are often spatialized'.[207] These 'imaginary geographies' or 'place images' are:

> the various discrete meanings associated with real places or regions regardless of their character on reality. Images, being partial and often either exaggerated or understated may be accurate or inaccurate they result from stereotyping, which oversimplifies groups of places within a region or from prejudices towards places or their inhabitants. A set of core images forms a widely disseminated and commonly held set of images of a place or space [208]

These ideas provide a kind of discursive economy through which place is experienced as both real and imagined. The term 'imaginary' allows us to think of the monuments, memorials, public art, TV programmes and films of the city as part of these narratives and imaginative ways of seeing the city.

Theory of both place and memory has moved from static models to the notion of continual reproduction and becoming. Allan Pred's notion of place as never finished but always in the process of becoming provided greater fluidity in relation to debates about structure and agency. 'Place is what takes place ceaselessly, what contributes to history in a specific context and through the creation and utilisation of a physical setting'.[209] There can be overarching structures and smaller acts in everyday life that perform and reproduce space and memory. Representational theory and non-representational theory, events and practices, interpretation and representation are held in tension in Lefebvre's trialectics of space and Foucault's concept of heterotopia.

vi) Heterotopias of Memory

When we review all the examples mentioned in Foucault's lecture *Of Other Spaces* - the school, military service, the honeymoon, old people's homes, psychiatric institutions, prisons, cemeteries, the stage, the cinema, libraries and museums, fairs and carnivals, holiday camps, hammams, saunas, the motel, brothels, Jesuit colonies, the ship – we get an idea of how open-ended the concept can be.

The concept of heterotopia has often been used in discussions of place in geography, architectural theory, and urban theory, most notably by, Lefevbre, Edward Soja, and Benjamin Genocchio. The status of the original essay is uncertain as it was not considered for publication by Foucault himself. Published shortly before his death, it is believed to have only been the notes for a lecture delivered to a group of architects. Soja has warned that it is 'frustratingly incomplete, inconsistent, incoherent'.[210] In it Foucault claims that there has been a shift from the nineteenth century fixation with history to the present 'epoch of space', and space he argues, has a history.[211] Foucault suggests three stages: the hierarchical medieval space of emplacement, which is exploded by Galileo's work which introduced a new extension of space, and, finally, the current experience of space which takes the form of 'relations among sites'.[212] He is particularly interested in those sites which

> have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect.[213]

There are two kinds of such spaces, the utopia and the heterotopia. Utopias, in common with heterotopias, have a 'general relation of direct or inverted analogy' with other spaces in that they 'present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down'.[214] There is however an important difference between them: heterotopias are real spaces, while utopias are 'unreal spaces'.[215] Heterotopias that exist in 'every culture, every civilization' are

> something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.[216]

Foucault goes on to outline six principles of heterotopia that could constitute the study of heterotopias or what he calls 'heterotopolgy'.[217] The first principle states that heterotopias are 'constant', they have existed in all places and at all times. However, they have 'varied forms' of which he recognizes two dominant types: crisis heterotopias of 'primitive societies' ('privileged or sacred or forbidden places' that house individuals in moments of crisis – pregnant/menstruating women, the elderly), and heterotopias of deviation. The latter constitute Foucault's consistent area of study, sites of discipline and punishment: rest homes, prisons, psychiatric wards. The second principle describes how heterotopias have a function but a function which can change

The third principle explains how in a single real place the heterotopia is 'capable of juxtaposing several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible'; the theatre and the cinema are examples of places that conjure other places.[218] The fourth principle states that heterotopias are 'linked to slices of time'.[219] The museum and the library are described as 'heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time', while festivals and vacation villages are 'heterotopias of the festival', temporal heterotopia marked by the 'flowing, transitory, precarious aspect[s]'.[220] The fifth principle specifies that they 'presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable'.[221] They are not wholly accessible, one has to undergo various 'rites and purifications' to gain entry (barracks, prisons), 'have a certain permission and make certain gestures…partly religious and partly hygienic' (hammam, saunas).[222] The sixth, and final, principle outlines the function they have 'in relation to all the space that remains'.

> Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space…as more illusory…Or else, on the contrary, their role is to

> create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled.[223]

The notion of heterotopia that Foucault develops in *Of Other Spaces* describes a space of difference, a space that somehow evokes other spaces and holds together discontinuous times.

However, elsewhere in *The Order of Things*, Foucault discusses the concept of heterotopia quite differently. These earlier reflections conceive of heterotopias not as real places but as a characteristic of writing.[224] This model of heterotopia is not considered in this thesis. I want to take the principles outlined in *Of Other Spaces* as a guide towards defining and understanding possible 'heterotopias of memory'. These principles suggest lines of inquiry that reveal the complexities and subtleties of memory spaces. In that paper Foucault cites as paradigmatic heterotopias what I describe as memory spaces: he uses the cemetery, library and museum as examples. Sites of memory have many of the heterotopic qualities outlined by Foucault that explain their function and status, and their centrality and marginality in our culture. Places of memory have existed in all times and places. Remembering is universal like the heterotopia yet comes in various forms that alter throughout time and can change function. Memory sites evoke multiple times and places; their significance consists in their 'juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' and can be 'linked to slices of time'.[225] Memorial sites often 'presuppose a system of opening and closing' as certain behaviours and gestures are expected and performed in a ritualistic manner at their thresholds.[226] Spaces of memory

have a function 'in relation to all the space that remains' in that they speak to the present and are explicitly different in their function from other sorts of spaces.[227] As with all memorial forms they are places of stasis and reflection in amongst the flux and movement of urban life.

While Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter's edited collection on heterotopias includes gated communities, shopping malls, theme park streets, Dubai, Jakarta, master-planned communities, condominiums, Singapore, Tel Aviv Beach, dead zones and the Villages in Florida,[228] there is no discussion of the notion of heterotopias of memory. And although Foucault states that heterotopias have always existed in all times and places, they suggest that heterotopia are the result of the growth of the 'postcivil society'. Similarly, Edward Relph has argued that the concept of heterotopia characterizes the qualities of postmodern space:

> If I were to choose a single word to describe post-modern geography as it is manifest in actual places and landscapes it would be 'heterotopia'…Heterotopia is the geography that bears the stamp of our age and our thought – that is to say it is pluralistic, chaotic, designed in detail yet lacking universal foundations of principles, continually changing, linked by centreless flows of information; it is artificial and marked by deep social inequalities.[229]

However, Foucault claims that there have always been heterotopias in all cultures; they are spaces that are 'formed in the very founding of society'.[230] Heterotopias of memory have always existed, even if self-conscious postmodern sensibilities have a greater awareness of them. The strength of Dehaene and De Cauter's approach in relation to memory sites lies in their insistence that heterotopias are predominantly public places that collapse

notions of public and private. Following Edensor's work on neglected industrial sites and ruins as alternative spaces of memory, or as an 'antidote' to 'official' memorializing, it is tempting to argue that heterotopias of memory could fit well with Foucault's notion of heterotopias as counter-sites.[231] However, I prefer Kevin Hetherington model that defines heterotopia as against accounts that focus only on sites of liminality. Hetherington laments the tendency to romanticise places that are described as resistant and marginal.[232] They are sites of alternative ordering and in this way reveal new possibilities They can become sites of social change but they are not necessarily marginal sites or sites of resistance. They can be sites of authority located in the centre of our cities. His approach allows for the study of 'official' sites as heterotopias and provides some answers to Benjamin Genocchio's criticisms of the frequency with which the term is used with 'little critical engagement with Foucault's texts'.[233] Consequently the heterotopia is appealed to as a 'theoretical *deus ex machina',* ignoring the fact that, despite its attractions, it is fundamentally problematic.[234] Hetherington's account suggests that heterotopias are quite rare and stand out against a uniform and dull background. He refuses the suggestion that every space might be heterotopic. They are spaces that work with notions of place, memory, identity or otherness, and they are essentially spaces of excess. Edward Soja draws on the notion of heterotopia to develop his concept of 'thirdspace' in order to explore 'new ways of thinking about space and social spatiality'.[235] Following Lefebvre, Soja sees thirdspace as both real and imagined and, in this way, adopts thirdspace as a 'critical strategy of "thirding-as-Othering"'.[236] For Soja, space is no longer simply either firstspace, which describes real spatial forms,

or secondspace that he uses to indicate imagined space or spaces of representation.[237] It is thirdspace which introduces a thirding of the spatial imagination, 'a lived space of radical openness and unlimited scope, where all histories and geographies, all times and places, are immanently presented and represented'.[238] He says that thirdspaces are 'not just "other spaces" to be added on to the geographical imagination, they are also "other than" the established ways of thinking spatially. They are meant to detonate, to deconstruct, not to be comfortably poured back into old containers'.[239] Similarly, Genocchio argues that:

> The heterotopia is […] more of an idea about space than any actual place. It is an idea that insists that the ordering of spatial systems is subjective and arbitrary in that we know nothing of the original totality that it must presuppose. It is an idea which consequently produces/theorises space as transient, contestory, plagued by lapses and ruptured sites.

The concept of heterotopia is used by Soja, Hetherington and Dahaene and De Cauter to provide a new way of thinking space as a kind of thirdspace, and works as a way to sidestep the binaries that have shaped previous thinking on space.

I draw on the literature above and concentrate on the principles of heterotopias originally outlined by Foucault in order to argue that memory spaces are inherently heterotopic. All memorials and memory spaces are tied to time, they ask us to remember past times and events in the present. In this way they also invoke other spaces: the construction of a roadside memorial on a motorway transforms a secular place of extreme anonymity into a sacred site of intimacy; a First World War Memorial in the local high street evokes the battlefields of Flanders and the Somme; public sculptures and art works

transfigure functional or empty sites into places of symbolic meaning. Roadside memorials, war memorials, public monuments and museums all have complex codes that mark their thresholds in the same way in which Foucault's heterotopias act as 'system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable'.[240] The sites often expose or contest other sites, they 'speak' back to sites outside themselves. They have a 'function in relation to all the space that remains'.[241] The memorial site works to hold different spaces and times in tension. A heterotopic model of memory places allows for the ambiguity of memorial sites that have a tendency to overlap and blur boundaries between public and private, sacred and secular. It accommodates the ambivalence and incongruity of memory sites.

vii) Conclusion

'Geography is nothing but history in space'[242]

Memory has become one of the categories which scholars use as a lynchpin for their worldview often to support arguments concerning the breaks between pre-modern, modern and postmodern worlds. The concept of 'place' and the organisation of space too has become an organising concept, a catalyst to encourage the understanding of the past, present and future. Foucault emphasized the relationship of power to both space and memory. 'Space is fundamental in any exercise of power' and 'if one control's people's memory, one controls their dynamism'.

Memory as a type of knowledge has come under attack. By studying the changing status of memory we can track these wider theoretical concerns about knowledge and truth. Theorists have mapped the vicissitudes of memory - it is seen as a direct representation of a real past, a fiction shaped by the tropes and logic of language, a bulwark against barbarism and the future, a commodity and a fake. I argue that memory, particularly as realised in sites, memorials and artworks is heterotopic. I develop a positive argument about the current state of memory practices and the central role it plays in the reconfiguring of the region.

Newcastle upon Tyne is not Berlin 'whose buildings, ruins and voids groan under the burden of painful memories'[243] nor is it Los Angeles which has been described as constructed by a 'topology of forgetfulness'.[244] However, in all places there exists an effort to construct special places of memory that deal with multiple identities, histories and geographies. The study of the spatialization of memory reveals the ordering and zoning of different memorial groups and activities. The politics involved in ascribing memory spaces contribute to the carving up of public space that reflects a spatially and socially segmented world.

Both memory studies and cultural geography have tried to escape from the limitations of binary models and from the extremities and perhaps the idealism of positions that polarise the disciplines. In memory studies, Susannah Radstone has argued that memory studies should be protected from the extremes of postmodern thinking that sees memory as the same as poetry

and fiction; people do care about the fit between past and present narratives.[245] I agree with Sturken that the diagnosis of amnesia in western culture is 'superficial, relying on evidence of memory in traditional forms and narratives.'[246] The contribution to cultural memory from roadside shrines, contemporary public art, living history museums and the popular culture of film need not be viewed as an empty meaningless commodification of the past. As Sturken argues 'the culture of amnesia actually involves the generation of memory in new forms, in processes misinterpreted as forgetting'.[247]

In cultural geography,[248] the insistence on the experience of placelessness has meant that there is a struggle against topographies of amnesia in the theory of space. This thesis challenges the assumptions that formulate memory as lost in a placeless world. It proposes that contemporary memorialization can be better understood through the concept of heterotopia which offers a mode of reading memory spaces that allows us to grasp the way in which memory is currently being experienced.

Memory studies is concerned with how memory is socially constructed. It argues for memory as re-presentation and emphasizes the complex ways in which it is connected to issues of identity and power, asking by whom, for whom, and about whom, is memory produced. The thesis contributes to this area of study by exploring how the different technologies and spaces of memory affect its form and content. It tries to avoid merely distinguishing between 'good' and 'bad' memory practices. Evaluations of this kind are frequently rooted in debates of structure and agency. Memory practices that

are viewed as bottom-up, are assumed to be more authentic than those imposed from above, which are often, and too quickly, dismissed as manipulative, ideological and repressive. Memory sites are invariably complex in terms of these debates and provide fertile ground for such discussions. However, as Alon Confino has warned, the topical approach to memory has turned everything into a memory case study in which authors 'describe in a predictable way how people construct the past'.[249] He suggests that studies of memory are

> largely defined now in terms of topics of inquiry. Repressed memory. Monuments. Films. Museums. Mickey Mouse. Memory of the American South. Of the Holocaust. The French Revolution.[250]

He claims 'that not everything is a memory case in the same way' and suggests that the study should be investigating its methodology and 'proposing new connections' rather than simply introducing a succession of new topics.[251] He argues that the real work of memory studies is to show how it is 'effective to think with memory', which he suggests can be useful in 'connecting the cultural, the social, and the political, between representation and social experience.'[252]

It is important to respond to these criticisms particularly as this thesis could be described as taking a 'topical' approach to memory and, as Confino might see it, selecting an arbitrary list of subjects. However, the thesis adopts theories developed in cultural geography that show how memory is connected to place in a way that attempts to embrace two dominant theoretical approaches. On the one hand, processes of representation, readership and interpretation; on the other, the realm of non-representation, performance, event and

materiality. It is attentive, as Confino demands, to both 'representation and social experience'. By thinking 'with memory' instances of spatial experience are illuminated so that the study of memory spaces can offer theoretical insights to cultural studies and cultural geography.

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[1] Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead, eds, *Theories of Memory: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007) and *Memory Studies*, 1, 2008.

[2] Throughout the thesis I use the term 'memory studies.' Although it is still controversial to argue that there is a coherent body of work that could constitute such a discipline I believe that there is enough work centred around common questions to support such a claim. The journal *Memory Studies*, already mentioned, indicates a growing confidence in, and desire for, such a discipline along with a number of courses now offered in the UK and throughout the world. In the UK there are now complete courses offered in memory studies, including the Memory Cultures MA at the University of Portsmouth and the Cultural Memory MA at the University of London. Many universities now offer elective modules in memory studies as part of degree programmes in Film Studies, English Literature, Women's Studies, Postcolonial Studies, History, Cultural Studies and Anthropology. Further discussion regarding the status of the discipline and its terminology is returned to later in this chapter under the heading 'The Structure of Memory Studies'.

[3] Michel Foucault announces that 'the great obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history' but that the 'present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space', Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces' in *The Visual Culture Reader,* ed, Nicholas Mirzoeff (London and New York: Routledge, 2002a), pp. 229-236. p. 229. Tim Woods notes that even when Fredric Jameson proposes to recuperate 'history and the analysis of the 'real' temporality rather than the synthetic pastiche, he nevertheless alerts us to a new lexicon gaining ascendance within cultural analysis in recent years…space', Tim Woods, *Beginning Postmodernism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 118. Fredric Jameson argues that a 'certain spatial turn has often seemed to offer one of the more productive ways of distinguishing postmodernism from modernism proper', Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), p. 154**.** Edward Soja claims that the 'spatial dimension has never been of greater relevance than it is today' in Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p. 1.

[4] Tim Edensor, 'The ghosts of industrial ruins: ordering and disordering memory in excessive space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, 2005, pp. 829-849, p. 830.

[5] M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA. and London: MIT Press, 1994).

[6] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces' in *The Visual Culture Reader,* ed, Nicholas Mirzoeff (London and New York: Routledge, 2002a), pp. 229-236.

[7] Edward Relph, 'Postmodern Geographies'*, Canadian Geographer*, 35, no 1 (1991), pp. 98-105; Henri Lefebvre, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith *The Production of Space* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1991); Edward W. Soja *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); Kevin Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering* (London: Routledge, 1997); Benjamin Genocchio 'Discourse, Discontinuity, Difference: The Question of 'Other' Spaces' in Postmodern Cities and Spaces, edited by Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson. (Massachusetts and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers ltd, 1994), pp. 35-46; Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, eds, *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space and Postcivil Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

[8] The methodology is qualitative, and includes traditional forms of research (library research, internet research, bibliographical research, media analysis, collating photographic evidence), together with detailed critical textual analysis. The particular nature of Chapter 4, which explores the relationship between museum objects, visitors and guides, required the use of participant observation in order to explore the interactive production of memory at living

history museums. The theoretical framing of the thesis is drawn from the disciplines of memory studies, cultural studies and cultural geography. Memory studies, although a multi-disciplinary study, can be described as primarily concerned with the social, cultural and political processes that produce a sense of the past. 'Memory' in memory studies is seen to be more than a psychological or cognitive process of the individual, and is usually positioned outside of, and sometimes in opposition to, the study of history. Within memory studies various different terms are used to discuss the discourses and practices of remembrance (for example, 'collective memory', 'social memory' and 'public memory'). I have chosen to use the term 'cultural memory' in order to maintain links with cultural studies. I see the issues of identity and power, that cultural studies foregrounds, as crucial to shaping cultural memory texts and practices. There are a growing number of geographers working with notions of memory and there has been a broader shift in cultural studies to an interest in place and space. This has meant that work in the field of cultural geography has been important to an understanding of how memory is spatialized. The thesis makes particular use of the concept of heterotopia most widely discussed by geographers and urban theorists. Foucault's six principles of heterotopia have acted as a framework for the assessment of how memory spaces are currently experienced. As memory studies must now be attentive to the ways in which memory shapes, and is shaped by, spatial practice, my thesis combines approaches from both cultural studies and cultural geography.

[9] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004). p. 8.

[10] Boyer, 1994 p. 343.

[11] Hereafter Beamish.

[12] Elizabeth Hornbeck, 'Stationary Nomad: Journeys in Visual Culture', [online] http://itinerantprofessor.blogspot.com/search/label/heterotopia. Accessed on 13 January 2009.

[13] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980).

[14] Susannah Radstone, 'Working with Memory: an Introduction', in *Memory and Methodology*, ed, Susannah Radstone (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), pp. 1-22. p.1.

[15] Douwe Draaisma, trans. by Paul Vincent, *Metaphors of Memory: A History of Ideas about the Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), front flap.

[16] Paul Antze and Michael Lambek discuss the different ways in which memory 'as a topic is socially and historically constituted' through discourse. Different discourses of memory, 'political, historical, ethnic, gender, therapeutic, autobiographical, juridical' enable and constrain memory. Paul Antze and Michael Lambek, 'Preface' in *Tense Pasts: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*, eds, Paul Antze and Michael Lambek (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. xi-xxxviii, p.xv.

[17] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1979), p. 335.

[18] Amelie Rorty, *The Identity of Persons* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p.1.

[19] David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (London: Penguin Classics, 1986), p. 309.

[20] David C. Rubin, *Remembering our Past: Studies in Autobiographical Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 21.

[21] See 'Lecture IX: Memory' in Bertrand Russell, *The Analysis of Mind* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[22] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 199.

[23] Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993). p. 240. Terdiman argues that 'Desire, instinct, dream, association, neurosis, repression, repetition, the unconscious – all the central notions of psychoanalysis – then appear to have been rewritten as memory functions or dysfunctions' and that memory is 'both the problem Freud sought to solve and the core to his solution'. p. 241

[24] Cited in Nicola King*, Memory, Narrative, Identity: Remembering the Self* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 12.

[25] Sigmund Freud, trans. by James Strachey, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1955); Friedrich Nietzsche, 'On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life' in *Untimely Meditations*, trans. by R.J Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[26] The 1932 work of Frederic Bartlett, a cognitive psychologist replaced earlier models of remembering as exemplified by Ebbinghaus which relied on rehearsing lists and began to recognize the social and cultural factors, or 'schemas' that effect remembrance. His work has inspired a number of psychologists to link the individual with the social. See Frederic Bartlett, *Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932). Sociologist, Emile Durkheim never wrote explicitly about collective memory although much of his work on religious ritual describes the importance of historical continuity in societies and the need for external props in this process. See Emile Durkheim, trans. by Carol Cosman, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[27] Barbie Zelizer, 'Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication,* June, 1995, pp. 214-239. p. 215.
[28] Although this has been one of Halbwachs' most influential thoughts about memory it has been challenged. Barry Schwartz suggests the past is a 'compound of persistence and change' and in this way he allows for historical continuity not considered in Halbwachs model. See Barry Schwartz 'The Social Context of Commemoration: A study in Collective Memory", *Social Forces* 61: 2, Dec 1982, pp. 374-397.
[29] Zelizer, p. 214.
[30] Halbwachs, 1980, p.23.
[31] Halbwachs, 1980, p. 23.
[32] Ibid, p. 24.
[33] Ibid, p. 29.
[34] Ibid, p. 35.
[35] Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory: A Reader,* eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), pp. 392-403. p. 394.
[36] Mary Douglas, 'Introduction' in Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory,* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980). p. 7
[37] See Henri Bergson, trans. by Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer, *Matter and Memory* (London: Courier Dover Publications, 2004).
[38] Ibid, p. 7.
[39] Stephen Legg 'Contesting and surviving memory: space, nation, and nostalgia in Les Lieux de Mémoire' in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 23, 2005, pp. 481-504. p. 482.
[40] Althusser develops the concept of ideology as a material force in societies and explains the way it works to interpellate individuals as subjects and therefore functions in the creation of subjectivity. See Louis Althusser, trans. by Ben Brewster, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1971). Althusser opened up the prospect of extensive concrete historical work which has been taken up by Foucault. Foucault's material analysis and historical studies of institutions such as prisons, asylums, hospitals, schools and barracks, explore the way in which power/knowledge (or ideology) is deeply in grained into the gestures, actions, discourses and practical knowledge of everyday lives. Both mean to show how ideology is made concrete and localizable. Collections and criticisms of Foucault's key works can be found in the following: Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, eds, *The Essential Foucault* (New York: New Press, 2003); Colin Gordon, ed, *Power/Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) and Paul Rabinow, ed, *The Foucault Reader* (London: Penguin Books, 1984).
[41] Halbwachs, 1980, pp. 8-13 and chapter entitled, 'The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land' in Maurice Halbwachs, trans. by Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 193-235.
[42] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); Jay Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (London: Macmillan, 1985); Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[43] Susan Rubin Suleiman, *Crisis of Memory and the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Francesca Capelletto, ed, *Memory and World War Two: An Ethnographic Approach* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2005); Mark Connelly, *We Can Take It! Britain and the Memory of the Second World War* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2004).

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[45] Wulf Kansteiner, *In Pursuit of German Memory: History, Television, and Politics After Auschwitz* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006); Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870 – 1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); *German Memory Contests: The Quest for Identity in Literature, Film, and Discourse Since 1990* eds. Anne Fuchs, Mary Cosgrove and Georg Grote (Rochester and New York: Camden House, 2006)

[46] Catherine Merridale, *Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Russia* (London: Granta Books, 2000); Nurit Schleifman, ed, *Russia at a Crossroads: History, Memory and Political Practice* (London: Frank Cass, 1998); Kathleen E. Smith, *Mythmaking in the New Russia: Politics and Memory during the Yeltsin Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

[47] John Bodnar, *Remaking American Public Memory: Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992); Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget and Reconstruct the Past* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); George Lipsitz *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990); Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformations of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991); Mike Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996); David Thelen, ed, *Memory and American History*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,1989).

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[57] José van Dijck, *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

[58] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[59] Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Marius Kwint, ed, *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* (Oxford: Berg, 1999); Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir and the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).

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[61] David Middleton and Derek Edwards, eds, *Collective Remembering* (London: Sage, 1990).

[62] James Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 10-11.

[63] Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 18. Also see Alan Radley, 'Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past' in, *Collective Remembering,* eds, David Middleton and Derek Edwards (London: Sage, 1990), pp. 46-59. p. 48: 'Remembering is a broader phenomenon than is signified by either of the terms recall or reminiscence'.

[64] See Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago press, 2003), p. 17, in which Schwartz uses the term 'collective memory' to examine the changing role and function of Lincoln's memory in American life. He aligns himself with the field of sociology by claiming that his understanding of the term 'collective memory' is based on Max Weber's concept of meaning.

[65] Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2003), p. 19.

[66] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 4.

[67] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 15.

[68] Karen E. Till, 'Staging the Past: Landscape designs, cultural identity and Erinnerungspolitik at Berlin's Neue Wache' in *Cultural Geographies*, 1999, 6, pp. 251-283. p. 254

[69] Ibid, p. 255.

[70] Luisa Passerini, trans. by Robert Lumley, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), and Popular Memory Group, 'Popular memory: theory, politics, method' in *Making Histories. Studies in history-writing and politics,* eds. R. Johnson, G. McLennan, B. Schwarz, and D. Sutton (London: Hutchinson, 1982), pp. 205-252.

[71] Marianne Hirsch, 'Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy' in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* eds, Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer, (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1999). pp.2-23. p. 8.

[72] See Alison Landsberg, 'Prosthetic Memory: Total Recall and Blade Runner', *Body & Society* 1: 3/4, 1995, pp.175 – 189 and 'America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy', New German Critique 71, 1997, pp. 63-86.

[73] Jan Assman, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique,* No.65, Cultural History/Cultural Studies, (Spring-Summer, 1995), pp.125-133. p. 132.

[74] Ibid, p. 126.

[75] Mieke Bal, 'Introduction' in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* eds, Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer, (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. vii-xvii. p. vii
[76] Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 1.
[77] Ibid, p. 3.
[78] Ibid, p. 3.
[79] Alon Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *The American Historical Review*, 102: 5, Dec 1997, pp. 1386-1403.
[80] Ibid, p. 1388
[81] Ibid, p. 1387.
[82] Ibid, p. 1387.
[83] Martin Cole, 'Preface' in *Collective Remembering*, eds, David Middleton and Derek Edwards, (London: Sage, 1990), pp. vii-ix. p. viii.
[84] Ibid, p. viii-ix.
[85] Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective memory" to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices', *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, 1998, pp. 105-140; Kerwin Lee Klein, 'On the Emergence of Memory in Hisotrical Discourse', *Representations*, No. 69, Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering (Winter, 2000), pp.127-150; Barbie Zelizer, 'Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* (June 1995).
[86] Olick and Robbins, p. 106. Writing around the same time as Halbwachs, Aby Warburg, an art historian and cultural theorist developed the influential 'Mnemosyne Atlas' between 1924 and 1929, a picture series which acted as a kind of visual account of memory in western culture. Marc Bloch founded the Annales School with Lucian Febvre which pioneered the *longue durée* approach to social history.
[87] Olick and Robbins, pp. 106-107
[88] Zelizer, p. 215.
[89] Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam, 'Collective Memory - What Is It?', *History and Memory: Studies in Representations of the Past*, 8: 1 Spring/Summer, 1996, pp. 30-50. p. 30
[90] Gedi and Elam, p. 30 and p. 47.
[91] Leopold von Ranke wrote a large number of works including histories of England, France and sixteenth and seventeenth century popes. Other titles include: *The Theory and Practice of History* eds, Georg G. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973); Leopold von Ranke, trans. by Sarah Austin, *History of the Reformation in Germany*, ed, Robert A. Johnson (London: George Routledge, 1905).
[92] W.B. Gallie, *Philosophy and the Historical Understanding*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1964), p.54.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (London: Pimlico, 1999a), p. 248.
[95] Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993).
[96] See Popular Memory Group, 'Popular memory: theory, politics, method' in *Making Histories: Studies in history-writing and politics,* eds. R. Johnson, G. McLennan, B. Schwarz, and D. Sutton (London: Hutchinson, 1982), pp. 205-252. Includes a clear discussion of the aims and methodology of the group.
[97] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973).
[98] Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 12.
[99] Michel Foucault cited in Munslow, 1997, p.125.
[100] Michel Foucault, 'Theatricum Philosophicum' in *Language, Counter-Memory and Practice* ed. Donald Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp.177-178.
[101] Olick and Robbins, p. 110.
[102] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire', Representations 26,* Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989), pp. 7-24. p. 12.
[103] Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, 'Introduction', *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989), pp. 1-6. p. 2. Olick and Robbins similarly argue that the 'distinction between history and memory [in many accounts] is a matter of disciplinary power rather than of epistemological privilege'. They support this by citing a

personal communication of Barry Schwartz's, 'Sharp opposition between history and collective memory has been our Achilles heel, causing us to assert unwillingly, and often despite ourselves, that what is not historical must be "invented" or "constructed" – which transforms collective memory study into a kind of cynical muckracking', Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24 (1998), pp.105-140. p.110, p. 111-112.

[104] Susan Crane, 'Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory', *The American Historical Review,* 12: 5, Dec 1997, pp. 1372-1385. p. 1375.

[105] Radstone, p.5.

[106] Olick and Robbins, p. 120.

[107] Pierre Nora, 1989, p. 7.

[108] Radstone, p. 3.

[109] Ibid, p. 3.

[110] Gramsci's concept can be disarticulated from class but in its original use its concern is social class.

[111] Olick and Robbins, p. 108.

[112] Pierre Nora, 'The Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory', Tr@nsit [online] http://www.iwm.at. Accessed 13 September 2005.

[113] Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995); Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993).

[114] A letter from Adorno to Benjamin reads 'all reification is a forgetting' cited in Graeme Gilloch, *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), p. 64.

[115] Radstone, p. 7.

[116] Ibid, p. 7.

[117] Sturken, pp. 11-12.

[118] Draaisma, p. 3.

[119] Le Goff argues that we must 'pay attention to the different systems of training memory that have existed in various societies and in various periods: mnemotechnologies.' Jacques Le Goff, trans. by Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, *History and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 51-52.

[120] Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 54-99.

[121] Draaisma, p. 4

[122] Theodor Adorno, *Prisms*, (Massachusetts, MIT press, 1967), p. 34

[123] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1982), p. 91.

[124] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press); Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1994)

[125] Both Jameson and Baudrillard discuss the concept of the 'historical film' or 'nostalgia film' in their analyses. Baudrillard declares we have entered a time marked by the 'leukemia of history and politics' in which 'retro fashions' have emerged and 'only nostalgia endlessly accumulates'. See the chapter 'History: A Retro Scenario' in *Simulacra and Simulations* Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1994). pp. 43-48. p. 44. Jameson discusses the pastiche, nostalgia and the historical novel and film, Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press), pp. 17-25.

[126] Jameson, p. 25.

[127] Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History Theory, Trauma* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. xi.

[128] Terdiman, p. 5

[129] Antze and Lambek, p. xiv.

[130] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 3.

[131] Radstone, p. 7.

[132] Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities* (London: Vintage, 1974). p.10.

[133] Aldo Rossi, trans. by D. Ghirado and J. Ockman, *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge MA. and London: MIT Press, 1982), pp. 130-131.
[134] Nora, 1989; Winter, 1995; Boyer, 1994.
[135] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[136] Walter Benjamin, *One Way Street and Other Writings,* trans. by Edmund Jephott and Kingsley Shorter (London: Verso, 1985); Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (London: Pimlico, 1999a); Walter Benjamin, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLuaghlin*, The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1999b).
[137] Michel de Certeau, trans. by Steven Randall, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkley and London: University of California Press, 1984).
[138] Sigmund Freud, 'Fragment of an analysis of a case of hysteria' in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol.7, p. 3-122). ed. J. Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1953). For an interesting discussion of the archaeology metaphor in relation to cognitive psychology see Steen F. Larsen 'Remembering and the Archaeology Metaphor', *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 2: 3 ,1987, pp. 187-199.
[139] Umberto Eco cited in Mike Crang and Penny S. Travlou, 'The City and Topologies of Memory' in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 19: 2, April 2001, pp. 127-252. p. 165.
[140] Antze and Lambek, p. xii.
[141] Ibid, p. xii.
[142] Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, 'Introduction' in *Contested Pasts: the Politics of Memory,* eds, Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 1-21. p. 11.
[143] Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Hamondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), in which she discusses the Classical art of memory, memory in the middle ages, the Renaissance and memory, including chapters on Giulio Camillo's Memory Theatre, Giordano Bruno's 'Seals' and Robert Fludd's Memory Theatre.
[144] Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge, 1966), pp.18-22, 37-41. Similarly Italo Calvino writes of the remembered city as 'like an armature, a honeycomb in whose cells each of us can place the things he wants to remember: names of famous men, virtues, numbers, vegetable and mineral classifications, dates of battles, constellations, parts of speech'. Calvino, p.15.
[145] Cited in Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge, 1966), p. 17.
[146] Ibid, p. 38.
[147] For a discussion of art works that explore themes of walking and remembrance see David Pinder, 'Ghostly Footsteps: Voices, Memories and Walks in the City' in *Cultural Geographies* 8:1 (2001), pp.1-20. For an account of the relationship between walking and memory in relation to Walter Benjamin's grave at Port Bou see Elisa Rosenberg, 'The Geography of Memory: Walking as Remembrance' in *The Hedgehog Review: Critical Reflection on Contemporary Culture* 9: 2, Summer 2007, pp.54-67.
[148] Halbwachs, 1980, p. 23.
[149] Ibid. p.51
[150] Maurice Halbwachs, trans. by Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: University Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 191-235.
[151] Ibid, p. 199.
[152] Ibid, p. 199.
[153] Ibid, p. 200.
[154] Halbwachs, 1980, p. 140.
[155] For an excellent introduction and overview of these ideas see Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004).
[156] Martin Heidegger, trans. Joan Stambaugh, *Being and Time* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996).
[157] Cited in Cresswell, p. 18.
[158] Edward. C. Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976)
[159] Yi Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environment, Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974); Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976).
[160] Tuan cited in Lewis Holloway and Phil Hubbard, *People and Place: the Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), p. 75.

[161] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).
[162] Hutton, p. 2.
[163] Peter Carrier 'Places, Politics and the Archiving of Memory in Pierre Nora's Les Lieux de mémoire' in *Memory and Methodology,* Susannah Radstone, ed, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), pp. 37-57. p.39.
[164] Edited by Nora, *Les Leiux de Mémoire* covers seven volumes consisting of essays by 120 French scholars which cohere around three topics, 'The Republic", 'The Nation' and 'France'.
[165] Pierre Nora 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations,* Issue 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter- Memory (Spring 1989), pp. 7-24. p. 7.
[166] Ibid, p. 7.
[167] Radstone, p 15. And also see Legg, p. 482.
[168] Antze and Lambek, p. xv.
[169] Legg, p. 487.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ferdinand Tönnies, trans. by Charles P. Loomis, *Community and Society: Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* (London: Harper and Row Publishers, 1963), particularly pp.33-35.
[172] Legg, p. 487.
[173] Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Verso 1982), p. 18.
[174] Ibid, p. 35.
[175] Ibid, p. 99.
[176] Ibid, p. 99.
[177] Ibid, p. 100f.
[178] David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989). p.11.
[179] Virginia Woolf, *The London Scene* (London: Hogarth Press 1982), p.19.
[180] Boyer, p. 24.
[181] Robert A. Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology: Gustave Le Bon and the Crisis of Mass Democracy in the Third Republic* (London: Sage Publications, 1975); Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A lyric poet in the era of high capitalism,* trans. by Harry Zohn (New York: Verso, 1997); Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' in *Simmel on Culture* eds, David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (London: Sage Publications, 1997), pp. 174-185; Guy Debord, trans. by Ken Knabb, *The Society of Spectacle* (London: Rebel Press, 2004).
[182] For a summary of short works on particular cities see Graeme Gilloch, *Myth and Metopolis: Walter Benjamin and the City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), p. 2-3.
[183] Walter Benjamin, trans. by Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, *One-Way Street and Other Writings* (London and New York: Verso, 1997) see particularly 'The Berlin Chronicle' pp. 293-346
[184] Marcel Proust, trans. by C. K Scott Moncreiff and Terence Kilmartin, *The Remembrance of Things Past* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1988).
[185] Gilloch, p. 173.
[186] Benjamin describes a subjective approach to mapping memories: 'I was struck by the idea of drawing a diagram of my life…I interrogated my past life, and the answers were inscribed on a sheet of paper…I should, rather speak [of it as] of a labyrinth'. Walter Benjamin, *One Way Street and Other Writings,* trans. by Edmund Jephott and Kingsley Shorter (London: Verso, 1997), pp. 318-319. In another passage in the same volume, Benjamin, like Freud in his Dream Work, draws on the analogy of archaeology to illuminate his ideas. So he says, 'He who seeks his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging. This confers the tone and bearing of genuine reminiscences. He must not be afraid to return again and again to the same matter; to scatter it as one scatter earth, to turn it over as one turns over soil', p. 314.
[187] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*: *An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Henri Lefebvre, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith *The Production of Space,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2nd ed, 2000) and Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).
[188] Cresswell, p. 49.

[189] Allen Pred, 'Making histories and constructing human geographies,' in *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies*, ed. by Allen Pred (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990), pp. 3-40. p. 14.
[190] Gillian Rose and Doreen Massey, eds, *Deterritoralisations: Revisioning Landscape and Politics*, (Black Dog Press, 2003); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).
[191] Barthes says 'The city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language: the city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak our city, the city where we are, simply by living in it, by wandering through it, by looking at it'. Roland Barthes, 'Semiology and the Urban' in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory,* ed, Neil Leach (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 166-171. p. 168
[192] Jonathan Raban, *Soft City* (London: Harvill Press,1998), p. 2.
[193] Mike Crang, Penny S Travlou. 'The City and Topologies of Memory' in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 2001, 19: 2, April, pp. 127-252. p. 169.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid.
[196]Boyer, pp. 32-35.
[197] Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge MA.: MIT Press, 1998), p. 198.
[198] Boyer, p. 491.
[199] Bachelard, Gaston, trans. by Etienne Gilson, *The Poetics of Space* (New York: Orion, 1964).
[200] For an edited version of the complete work referenced in the above footnote see: Gaston Bachelard, 'Poetics of Space (Extract)' in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 86-97. p. 86.
[201] Ibid, p. 87.
[202] Ibid, p.
[203] Henri Lefebvre, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith *The Production of Space* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1991), p. 38.
[204] Ibid, p. 38.
[205] Ibid, p. 39.
[206] Edward W. Soja *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p. 6.
[207] Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 29.
[208] Ibid, p. 60.
[209] Pred 1984, 279.
[210] Edward W. Soja *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p.161.
[211] Foucault, 2002a, p. 229.
[212] Ibid, pp. 229-230.
[213] Ibid, p. 231.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid, p. 232.
[218] Ibid, p. 233.
[219] Ibid, p. 234.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid, p. 235.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid.
[224] The term appeared for the first time in the preface to *The Order of Things*, published in 1966. Here it is used to refer to language and representation rather than actual places. Heidi Sohn writes 'utopia and heterotopia – remain conceptual and abstract constructs with little direction to the material, physical world of objects. He rather pointed to particular literary genres: heterotopian writing (Roussel, Borges), to be understood in opposition to the utopian literary tradition of Plato and Thomas More'. Heidi Sohn, **'**Heterotopia: Anamesis of a Medical Term' in *Heterotopia and the City: Public space and Postcivil Society,* eds, Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 41-50. p. 43.
[225] Foucault, 2002a, pp. 233-234

[226] Ibid, p. 235.
[227] Ibid.
[228] *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space and Postcivil Society,* eds, Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). They are particularly interested in the transformation of public space and what they see as the end of public space. The current transformations confuse the old boundaries of public and private space and it is at this juncture that they believe the concept of heterotopia is of most use. They suggest that current theorising fails to deal with the complexities of the way in which space is being experienced and argue that the concept of heterotopia can cope with the ambiguities of network space in postcivil society.
[229] Edward Relph, 'Postmodern Geographies', *Canadian Geographer*, 35, no 1 (1991), pp. 98-105. pp. 104-105.
[230] Foucault, 2002a, p. 231.
[231] Tim Edensor, 'The ghosts of industrial ruins: ordering and disordering memory in excessive space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 23, 2005, pp. 829-849, p. 830.
[232] Kevin Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 18. Similarly Soja describes how Lefebvre sees Foucault's focus on prisons and psychiatric hospitals as a dangerous 'parochial preoccupation with the periphery'. Edward W. Soja *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p. 146.
[233] Benjamin Genocchio 'Discourse, Discontinuity, Difference: The Question of 'Other' Spaces' in Postmodern Cities and Spaces, edited by Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson. (Massachusetts and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers ltd, 1994), pp. 35-46. p. 36.
[234] Ibid, p. 36.
[235] Soja, p. 2.
[236] Ibid, p. 5.
[237] Ibid, p. 11.
[238] Ibid, p. 311.
[239] Ibid, p. 163.
[240] Foucault, 2002a, p. 235.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Elisée Reclus cited in Soja, p. 186.
[243] Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German Memory in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997). p. 3.
[244]Norman M. Klein, *The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory* (London, New York: Verso, 1997), p. 81.
[245] Radstone writes 'Nevertheless what distinguishes memory from the far reaches of post-1960s theory, is that memories *continue to be* memories. Although it is now acknowldedged, for instance that memory's tropes – of metaphor and metonymy, for instance - may be similar to those of poetry, and although it is now recognised that memory's condensations and displacements are similar to those found in dreams, memory work does not reduce memory to fiction, to dream, or to poetry, for instance. Memories, that is, continue to be memories, and it is their relation to lived historical experience that constitutes their specificity', p. 11
[246] Sturken, p. 2.
[247] Sturken, p. 20.
[248] There are a growing number of geographers working with notions of memory. Key work by geographers on memory sites include: Nuala Johnson, 'Cast in Stone Monuments: Geography and Nationalism', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13, 1995, pp. 51-65; Charles Withers, 'Place, Memory, Monument: Memorializing the Past in Contemporary Scotland', *Ecumene*, 3, 1996, pp. 325-344; Karen E. Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005). Dydia DeLyser has highlighted the role of memory in tourism practices in Dydia DeLyser, *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of California* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
[249] Confino, p. 1387.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid. p. 1388
[252] Ibid

Chapter 2

Private Memory and Public Space

The increasing interest in issues of space has begun to have a significant impact on memory studies. The study of memory spaces brings a new focus on the zoning and ordering of memorial spaces and therefore of different memorial activities, groups and agendas. This thesis analyses roadside memorials, public memorial art, museums and film. These four examples of spaces of memorial practice allow us to explore the ways in which different arenas are shaped by particular agencies and how they engage, self-consciously and unselfconsciously, with notions of memory and place. They challenge the diagnosis of amnesia and placelessness that characterize theories of both place and memory.

The concept of heterotopia enables a way of thinking about memory spaces that recognizes them as sites with a multiplicity of meanings and acknowledges their relation to other sites. The multiplicity that characterizes memory heterotopias often derives from their ability to speak to, and articulate, individual and collective experiences and concerns. The term expresses the common aspects of all memory sites whether they are planned and state-sanctioned or spontaneous and individual, permanent or ephemeral, at the centre or on the peripheries. The heterotopia, discussed as both particular instances of spatial experience and as a general condition of the spatial logic of capitalism, has previously been seen to embody either the

positive potentials and pleasures of marginal and resistant postmodern space or the end of public space in a 'postcivil society'.[1] The suggestion that heterotopias are sites of multiplicity that juxtapose, in one space, different spaces informs the current chapter. Spatial heterotopia is considered here in relation to roadside memorials in Newcastle upon Tyne, along with the other principles which characterize heterotopias as spaces linked to time, characterized by systems of opening and closing, and having a relation to other surrounding spaces.

Roadside memorials are an exemplary instance of the changes in memorial consciousness and the way in which these are connected to the use of space. Foucault describes heterotopias as a consistent feature of all societies that take various forms and can also change function. Roadside memorials are sites that appear spontaneously; they can grow, wither, disappear and reappear or become permanent. In this way their function can change from a warning to a memorial, to forgotten detritus. Marking places of personal trauma and loss, roadside memorials are located in shared, public space. By enacting a collapse between public and private spaces ('private' in the sense of personal or domestic), they create a site of layered meaning and in this way are characterized by the multiplicity suggested in the heterotopic model of space.

The sites of memorials are specific, yet usually anonymous areas that are transformed by death and remembrance. They are linked to 'slices of time', as they evoke the moment of death. We are encouraged to imagine or remember

the instant as it flashes up before us. Roadside memorials as heterotopias of memory have systems of opening and closing - thresholds that blur the socially agreed demarcation of public space. The roadside memorial takes memory into the public sphere and confronts the established conventions that geographically separate the dead from the living. They may have no physical threshold but as one approaches them, photographs them, reads the letters, touches the objects left there, one has the sense of having intruded or crossed over into a sacred and private space. They act as a threshold between living and dead, and help the bereaved to maintain a relationship with the deceased. However, these sites become the focus of contention. The encroachment of the dead into the space of the living may be considered by those outside of the circle of the bereaved to be macabre and burdensome.

The principle that states heterotopias' significance in relation to other spaces can be applied to the relationship between the roadside memorial and other memorial spaces used by the bereaved and to the remaining stretch of road still in ordinary use. As warnings, the memorials challenge the notion of safe road travel confronting motorists with the reality of road traffic fatalities. They speak to the remaining space by acting as a reminder and a criticism of the dangers involved in driving. In alignment with other studies of heterotopic spaces, a reading of the roadside shrine as a counter-site, as a space of marginality and resistance, is possible and, to an extent, useful. Their difference comes partly from their relation with the other spaces of personal memorializing, including the cemetery and graveside, but partly from their connection to the sites associated with the deceased before death - the home,

the garden and, often in the case of child's death, the bedroom. However, they do not reject, nor have they replaced, traditional forms of remembrance. The roadside memorials exist alongside, and in relation to, the cemetery and gravestone. They evoke them both through deploying the same language and symbols of bereavement and through deviating from them. The relation with, and dynamic between, the different places in which one can mourn produces the specific qualities and meanings of each memory site.

Spontaneous, unmanaged, and temporary roadside memorials represent the appropriation of public space to express private emotion. They exemplify the negotiation over the use of space for memorializing. The struggle between mourners, the city council and police over the legality and acceptability of roadside memorials highlights the ambiguity of the ownership and use of space. Pierre Nora's conceptualizations of empty *lieux de mémoire* and the assumed placelessness and depthlessness experienced in the postmodern city where only advertisements and global chain stores flourish, are challenged by roadside memorials which are specific, local and highly charged sites of trauma and memory. In contrast to theories of capitalist urban space as devoid of history and as commercial to the point of homogeneity, roadside memorials mark out personal histories and narratives.[2] Like all memorial forms, they encourage reflection and are an invitation to pause amongst the flux and movement of urban life. Rather than accepting the superficial argument that roadside memorials are a simple continuation of a memorial culture characterized by 'look-at-me-grief'[3] that exposes the desire for fifteen minutes of memorial fame, the sites represent meaningful attempts

to engage with memory and its relationship to space. The erection of memorials represents the effort to control memory through the use of space.

The importance of memory objects is crucial in the effort to control the meaning of a site and raises questions about the continuing importance of materiality in memory practices and the level of control we have over objects in different spaces. The display of ordinary, everyday commodities as memento mori helps maintain a relationship between living and dead. Memory practices and memory studies recognise the fundamental importance of the material world in the formation of consciousness.[4] For the collector and the mourner, objects provide the external support necessary for the internal processes of both the everyday practices that we are all involved in, and of extreme states such as bereavement.

Cultural geographers and urban theorists have established a way of thinking of space as socially produced.[5] This work can be combined with memory studies to consider how memorial practices or the installation of memory objects in a particular location, contribute towards the construction of social space. As place can be altered by objects so too the objects are diversely framed by the places in which they are located: the museum artefact, lit, labelled and arranged in sequence with others of the same order, the memento kept in a shoe box under a bed or the photograph given ‘pride of place’ at the centre of the mantelpiece. The relative position of an object in a particular space manages the possible meanings and the reception of the

object and organizes the sorts of social practices and sets of behaviour taking place there.

The site of personal remembrance can be considered as a spontaneous form of remembrance that marks out a private space for an individual's lived life against a backdrop of social indifference and anonymity. This chapter considers how personal memory has revolved around materiality and examines the relationship between persons and memory objects. It is interested in individual memory and the memory of small groups, considering first the role of memory objects in the domestic sphere of the home before moving on to explore private grief in public places through the example of the roadside memorial.

i) Home: the First House of Memory

Apart from civic memorialisation most people's experience of memory objects involves the materials and objects in their own homes. Memorializing in recent studies is increasingly seen as a social experience and process that is located in space and utilises an array of diverse objects.[6] Although there is always a reference to the personal experience of individual people, memories are maintained through associations with the physical environment locking them into the social world. Memorialising then, is an embodied practice located in socially constructed places in which, what Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey call the 'nexus of space/body/ object', is of the greatest importance.[7]

The home offers a unique place for personal remembrance. As a place of attachment and rootedness it is a space over which we have control and into which we can withdraw from the world. Human geographers have drawn on fictional literature that offers a 'creative representation of a particular place and time, based on experience, imagination and memory' to 'examine the emotional and bodily relationships that exist between people and place'.[8] The childhood home as an important place of memory is a central theme in biography, autobiography and fiction. Laurie Lee's *Cider with Rosie* and Graham Swift's *Waterland* are contemporary examples. Marcel Proust not only puts memory at the centre of *Remembrance of Things Past* but dramatizes its physiological and material realizations of which the *petite madeleines* is the most celebrated sequence. He writes that the past is 'hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach of intellect, in some material object (in the sensation which that material object will give us)'.[9] Written in a period of increasing consumerism, *Remembrance of Things Past* examines memory's sensuality and explores how memory is held in everyday objects waiting to be discovered. Proust writes, 'it depends on chance whether or not we come upon this object before we ourselves must die'.[10] It is the chance, unforeseen encounter with memory that fascinates him rather than an interest in objects especially designed and reserved for memory.

Parallels can be drawn between Proust's attention to domestic space and memorial objects and the work of Gaston Bachelard, whose main phenomenological emphasis is centred on phantasmatic inner spaces. Bachelard states 'The house, quite obviously, is a privileged entity for a

phenomenological study of the intimate values of inside space', a place where we might 'take root, day after day, in a "corner of the world"'.[11] He suggests the study of 'topoanalysis' to understand the psychology of sites that are meaningful to us.[12] And argues for the importance of the spatial dimension over temporal dimensions in relation to memory. Memories are 'motionless' and 'the more securely they are fixed in space, the sounder they are'.[13] In contrast to Henri Bergson's focus on duration and temporality in relation to memory, Bachelard argues that the 'localization in the spaces of our intimacy is more urgent than determination of dates'.[14] In his 'house of memories' it is not the taste of the madeleine but the odour of raisins that recalls his childhood, and he states that there 'exists for each one of us an oneiric house, a house of dream memory, that is lost in the shadow of a beyond of the real past'.[15]

Proustian memory and Bachelard's *Poetics of Space* describe the childhood home as the first place of memory. And the home has continued to be as a safe place for memory as it is associated with notions of routine and continuity. It is a space that 'serves as a model of the psyche, a concrete personality, and is the environment which memory tends most powerfully to reconstruct'.[16] The notion of 'home' has powerful real and imagined aspects, it is at once a place and an idea[17] and, as Cresswell states, it has come to act as a metaphor for place in general.[18] Bachelard argues that 'all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home', as it is there that 'memory and imagination remain associated'.[19] The home has been attributed a special place in relation to memory. This is of interest in relation to the

cross-over of private memory into public spaces where there is an effort to construct a place of belonging and identity in previously meaningless and impersonal places; it is this cross-over that will be considered later in the chapter.

The home is both a place to remember and a place to remember in, as it is one of the few places where we experience a sense of control and belonging. The childhood home of memory and the present home of daily living both accumulate memory and become habitually lived spaces. The demarcation of social space is crucial to the formation of identity. Hallam and Hockey have argued that it was in Europe in the nineteenth century that the concept of intimate and private spaces really took hold and grew along with the idea of the individual.[20] The bourgeois home became the perfect site in which to fashion personal identity through cultural forms and this includes practices of remembrance.[21] The privacy and control experienced at home makes it a territorial place that functions to keep others out. Orest Ranum investigates spaces of intimacy of the sixteenth and eighteenth century and shows that memory objects were previously connected with notions of privacy and secrecy in the domestic sphere:

> in the past the individual identified most intimately with certain particular places – an identification effected by means of emotions, action, prayers and dreams. The souvenir-space (walled garden, bedroom, ruelle, study or oratory) and the souvenir object (book, flower, clothing, ring, ribbon, portrait or letter) were quite private, having been possessed by an individual unique in time and space.[22]

The inwardness and privacy of souvenirs, such as the love token, requires a space set aside in which to contemplate the object uninterrupted in order to realise the 'emotion, actions, prayers and dreams' that might be associated

with them. Baudrillard too, recognizes the importance of the relation between the domestic environment and objects that are particularly marked out as special.

> Within the private environment, mythological objects constitute a realm of even greater privacy: they serve less as possessions than as symbolic intercessors – as ancestors, so to speak, than which nothing is more 'private'. They are a way of escaping from everyday life, and no escape is more radical than escape in time, none so thorough-going as escape into one's own childhood.[23]

The home became a site to invest with individuality primarily through the arrangement of objects. So the home became a powerful place of memory that allowed for private individual expression as well as the communication of social status through the fashioning of interiors.

Traditionally in the West, it is believed that memories can be transferred to material objects. People have used diaries and keepsakes, such as locks of hair, photographs and jewellery, to stand in for their memories. This practice has acted as a way of coping with man's mortality.[24] Our response to antiques, those personally inherited or those strange to us, is profound. The significance of being alone with an object in a particular place highlights the importance of Hallam and Hockey's notion of the body/space/object nexus in memory practices. The creative use of objects, collecting and displaying them in the home, helps to maintain a particular conception of the past and contributes to a sense of ownership over place, further developing attachment to particular spaces as meaningful. The control over the order, framing and display of personal souvenirs allows for a personal narrative to develop in dialogue with the domestic space that is not experienced elsewhere.

However, accounts that stress the home as a place of rest, care and privacy have been challenged, predominantly by feminist geographers, with an alternative view of the home as constraining ('a woman's place is in the home') and as places of abuse and deformation. These reports describe how the 'home' can be experienced negatively.[25]

The home is, crucially, a gendered place. Bourdieu's notion of the house as generating structural relationships has inspired a number of studies that account for the ways in which domestic space is structured along male and female lines.[26] Juliet Kinchlin and Marius Kwint both argue that private, interior space has been codified as feminine in contrast to the masculine public domain.[27] Kinchlin also notes a further division of space within the home between the feminine drawing room and the masculine dining room of the nineteenth century. In relation to memory, two female authors, Juliet Ash and Carol Mara, stand out particularly by drawing on their own experiences of bereavement, materiality and space. Juliet Ash's notion of the 'aesthetics of absence' recognizes her gendered response to her husband's death in the way in which she focused her memorial attention on his ties.[28] Carol Mara's essay accounts for the importance of her son's clothing in the process of bereavement.[29] Both of these works are characterised by the intimacy of their subjective approaches as women - wives and mothers - and their memory practices within the domestic sphere. Marta Ajmar supplies some historical evidence for the special role of domestic space in relation to objects and memory and their relationship with the feminine. She refers to women of the Renaissance as 'custodians of family memory' due to their responsibility over

domestic goods and spaces and argues that in this way the 'material memory of the household was in women's hands'.[30] Positive accounts like these, of the relation between women, home and memory are not to be found in modernist architectural theory that has been characterised by its suppression of domesticity and by its possible misogyny. Le Corbusier claimed that 'dead things from the past' had no place inside a modernist home.[31] The notion that one would wish to be 'free from clutter' is in opposition to 'homeliness and its memory-bearing clutter'[32] that is clearly marked as feminine. Objects that have 'sentimental value' and the perceived 'sentimentality' of memory practices such as keeping, cleaning and arranging objects are associated with women and resides 'in a 'female' domain of excessive emotion and irrational, possessive impulses'.[33]

Since the European development of consumer-driven economies of the nineteenth century, women have been seen as responsible for the furnishing and decoration of the house, and therefore as the gatekeepers of family memory. Women are closer to domestic goods and therefore the material memories of the household are in their hands. Throughout their book, which focuses on material cultures and death, Hallam and Hockey frequently return to concerns with gender and argue that women are closer to death for a number of reasons including: the unequally weighted duties of mourning (adornment of mourning clothes, covering hair, wearing veils);[34] and clairvoyance, which is predominantly practised in domestic spaces and in which both readers and clients are usually women.[35] An unlikely source of support for the position that remembering is tied more intimately to women

than to men comes from Pope John Paul II who argues that Mary's memory is the 'most faithful reflection of the mystery of God'. This is, he says

> 'partly because Mary is a woman. To tell the truth, memory belongs more to the mystery of woman than to that of man. Thus it is in the history of families, in the history of tribes and nations, and thus too in the history of the Church.[36]

These responses show the way in which memory is tied to the home and therefore to gender. Memory practices are gendered in their relation to space. But it is not only gender issues that mark memory practices in the domestic sphere, issues of class also leave their mark on relations between memory, objects and the processes of selection and display in the home. Alan Radley discusses the findings of a study on the nature of collective remembering which shows how memorializing practices in the home differ between social classes. The middle classes' sense of history is marked by their ability to 'steer their own lives and to negotiate their way through the constraints of the economic and physical environment'.[37] Their remembrance of their own accomplishments and key moments in their lives is in contrast to the memory practices of working class people. The discrepancies between the groups' working and educational lives and of their patterns of consumption are evident in their displays of memory. We remember in a world of things, so the type of remembrance we can have is dependent upon the sort of relationship we have with these things. Radley recognizes that 'in modern societies, with their inequalities in ownership and control of consumption, classes and groups differ in their relationship to things as potentials for remembering past times'.[38] He warns 'We are indeed "reminded" by objects, but we are also "mindful" of them in lives constrained by ownership and patterns of exchange'.[39]

More recently, work on the experience of immigrants shows the importance of memory objects in the context of migration.[40] Migrants select iconic autobiographical objects to travel with them. More than souvenirs, these objects become integrating loci, sites of family history and mythology, functioning as memory triggers of past homes, lost landscapes and family. Objects have come to stand for our memories, so memory is tied to the material world. Engaging with memory is then defined and constrained by the relationship between persons and the material world. This limited experience still allows marginalised groups such as women, the working classes, and immigrants, traditionally excluded from more official history making, an opportunity to manage memory through everyday objects and commodities in the private sphere of the home.

ii) The Memory Object

The relationships people have with memory objects are indicative of the broader social and cultural processes that link persons or subjects with material domains. Andreas Huyssen's model of memory as a 'slowing down' process emphasizes the importance of the material world. He maintains that if we are to resists 'the progressive dematerialisation of the world' we should turn to museums and the solid and permanent aspects of culture.[41] Through a desire for the aura and reality of the object and the re-enchantment of objects, he suggests, we can 'recover a mode of contemplation outside the universe of simulation'.[42]

Despite the positive position afforded to objects by Huyssen, there has been a long-standing suspicion of the relationship between persons and objects. Traditionally material aspects of human life have been readily dismissed. At best the relationship between subject and object has been described as frivolous and shallow and at worst as dangerous and unhealthy. Negative accounts have come from different areas. For humanists, it is the relationships between persons that are of most importance and deserving of serious attention. For religious iconoclasts the rejection of worldly, material things demonstrates their spiritual and pure love of God. For Marxists the concept of commodity fetishism reveals how investment in commodities leads to alienation and false consciousness. And for Freudian psychoanalysts the notion of fetishism describes an unhealthy attachment or obsession with objects that is marked by neurosis and hysteria. As negative as they are, and as diverse from each other as they are, these accounts either see the material world as instrumental in the production of subjectivity and identity or as powerful enough to divert attention away from perceived 'real' goals and therefore blocking or hindering the production of some ideal identity.

For Marx, as for Hegel, 'objectification' is a series of processes consisting of externalization (self-alienation) and sublation (re-absorption) through which the subject of such a process is created and developed.[43] However, according to Marx we are ultimately overwhelmed by alienation and have become unable to carry out the processes of sublation that would allow for our development.[44] Here objectification tends to obstruct rather than promote the subject's development. Daniel Miller has argued against this position. Here

objectification is a dual process by means of which a subject externalises itself in a creative act of differentiation and in turn re-appropriates this externalization through the act of sublation, the creation of a particular form. Miller is dismayed that 'all sides of the political spectrum…subscribe to certain blanket assumption concerning the negative consequences of the growth of material culture' and that most 'assume that the relation of persons to objects is in some way vicarious, fetishistic or wrong'.[45]

A more positive model can be found in Igor Koptyoff's work that describes the commodity as simply a phase in the life of an object.[46] He suggests a biographical approach to objects, in which objects can 'move in *and* out of the commodity state, and that such movements can be slow or fast, reversible or terminal, normative or deviant'.[47] He calls this process, 'singularisation' (and re-singularisation) whereby objects lose their saleability and acquire a 'special aura of apartness from the mundane and the common'.[48] Claiming that it is culture that makes certain an object remains singular Kopytoff lists memory objects such as monuments and ritual objects as among the 'symbolic inventory of society' that resist commodification.[49] Furthermore he argues that it is in the ability to singularize an object that power manifests itself.[50] Memory objects can be seen as an example of this process and Kopytoff rightly points out that the state's symbolic icons constitute a display of power. It is also possible to say that the individual at home exercises the power to produce some objects as more special in that domain. They become the opposite of a commodity, in that they are 'uncommon, incomparable, unique, singular, and therefore not exchangeable'.[51] Through memory practices commoditization is

restricted and hedged.[52] Memory practices are part of the 'zones of activity and production' that are devoted to 'producing objects of value that cannot be commoditized by anybody'.[53] It is easy to see how acts of memory are an example of this type of transformation. The massive symbolic investments and cultural exchange involved in memory-making produces ordinary objects as 'sacra placing them beyond the culturally demarcated zone of commodification'.[54] The taxonomy and agency of memory objects are particularly interesting in comparison to the commodity. The bizarre taxonomy of the Chinese Encyclopaedia that Foucault draws attention to in *The Order of Things* and sections of Baudrillard's *The Systems of Objects* highlight the classificatory structures that frame our thinking and our relationship with objects. Baudrillard asks:

> Could we classify the luxuriant growth of objects as we do flora and fauna, complete with tropical and glacial species, sudden mutations, and varieties threatened with extinction?[55]

He goes on to list the antique object as one of the special kinds of objects that 'run counter to the requirements' and 'answer to other kinds of demands such as witness, memory, nostalgia or escapism'.[56] For Baudrillard, the way in which the antique refers us back to the historical past transforms the antique from a use object to purely a signifier, signifying time, so that it takes on an '*exclusively* mythological character'.[57] These 'warm' objects that expose the desire of western 'civilized' people for objects that signify authenticity and origins are again in opposition to a commodity that is

> 'Rich in functionality but impoverished in meaning, their frame of reference is the present moment, and their possibilities do not extend beyond everyday life'.[58]

Alternatively the antique or 'mythological' object is characterized by having 'minimal function and maximal meaning, while its frame of reference is the ancestral realm'.[59] Kopytoff's work and studies into the memory object show the way in which either of the modes Baudrillard outlines can be described merely as stages in the life of an object.

Thinkers have often begun their memory studies by talking about something else in order lay hold of memory. Their starting point being anything from wax tablets to computers. These other *things* reveal a desire for memory to be manifested materially. Metaphors have enabled us to think about memory, to give expression to it, to imagine it and reflect on its character and nature. Nisbet identifies metaphor as 'at its simplest, a way of proceeding from the known to the unknown'.[60] The metaphorical starting point that a memory scholar decides upon will both enable and constrain their discussion. While each metaphor invariably makes possible the same shift, from the intangible and ephemeral to the tangible and material, the chosen point of departure matters. It impacts on, and shapes, what can and cannot be said about memory. The souvenir, for example, as memory object has come under much criticism form Marxist theorists such as Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno. Benjamin's writings on memory have been wide ranging and have reflected on the problems and oppressions of history writing and the commodification and degradation of experience under capitalism and modernity. His writings often have an autobiographical strain, particularly in *One Way Street and The Berlin Chronicle,* in which he draws on his memories of his childhood home and of his country.[61] Benjamin's focus on the writing of Marcel Proust has

clearly informed his ideas on the ideal memory experience and object. Both share a belief in the importance of the spontaneous memory, the accidental flash of remembrance over the souvenir. Benjamin writes

> The souvenir is the complement of 'shock experience' [Erlebnis]. In it is marked the increasing self-alienation of the person who has inventoried his past as dead possessions. Allegory in the nineteenth century cleared the environment in order to settle in the inner world. Relics come from corpses, the souvenir from the extinguished experience [Erfahrung] which euphemistically calls itself experience [Erlebnis].[62]

The souvenir is associated with the nineteenth century bourgeois home which 'ensnares traces of memory, ideology and social desire' and demands that the 'memoirist disentangles those impulses bundled in objects'.[63] What is uncovered is a fairly negative account that sees the souvenir ('the secularised relic') as too close to the commodity to allow genuine or critical engagement with the past or with memory.

Like Benjamin, Susan Stewart states that 'history itself disappears as a commodity'.[64] However, elsewhere, she makes positive comments on the importance of the souvenir for memory in the home. She is interested in the capacity for narrative to generate significant objects. In examining narratives of the miniature and the gigantic, which she considers as, on the one hand, a metaphor for the interior space and time of the bourgeois subject and, on the other, as a metaphor for the abstract authority of the state and collective, public life, she outlines the ways in which these discourses of the self and the world mutually define and delimit one another. In her work, souvenirs and miniatures stage the problematic notions of interiority and exteriority, of the visible and invisible, of transcendence and partiality of perspective.

Central to these narratives is the body. For Stewart the body plays a fundamental role in relation to our mode of perceiving scale. Here her work is similar to the research of memory scholars Hallam and Hockey, whose work is underpinned by the body/object/space/nexus and of Paul Connerton who emphasizes memory as embodied ritual.[65] Her work on miniatures is specifically relevant to the kinds of memory objects found in domestic spaces. She recognizes the power of the miniature 'to present a diminutive, and thereby manipulatable, version of experience, a version which is domesticated and protected from contamination'.[66] She offers similar insights into the role and nature of the souvenir that she says 'contracts the world in order to expand the personal'.[67] It moves history into private time and allows for nostalgia. Baudrillard too has noted the power of collecting objects as a 'rudimentary way of mastering the outside world, of arranging, classifying and manipulating'.[68]

Stewart emphasises the importance of touch and draws attention to objects' capacity to exert pressure on the subject thus breaking-down boundaries between subject and object. She claims touch as a constitutive aspect of much memory-making and makes it central in her argument against notions of the past as 'illusion'. Rather, she sees the past, and our relationship with it, as a 'tactile tangible deeply felt reality', objects can break the boundaries of unconscious/conscious, passive/active, dead/living.[69] The act of touching 'exerts pressure on both toucher and touched and, therefore, threatens the distinction between subject and object.'[70] Whilst she recognises that the souvenir, through processes that involve both production and consumption,

allows the owner to 'transform history into private space and property',[71] the souvenir cannot escape its status as commodity.

Conceiving of memories as possessions, like objects, which we can chose to display or disclose, encourages an exaggerated sense of individual agency. A number of writers have now argued that we wrongly believe that we are responsible for memories and in control of objects.[72] In the following section, roadside memorials are understood as examples of the intensified role played by objects in moments of bereavement. Death engenders fervent memory practices. The following passage describes the effects of death on the bereaved and the material world they inhabit:

> Death tends to throw into relief the values assigned to material possessions, belongings are unhinged and redistributed, death calls for the production and use of dedicated materials, it instigates strategies of salvage and forces questions about what can be kept in the face of loss. [73]

Gell notes that objects have the ability to intrude on us. He discusses the causation and intention philosophers ascribe to the notion of agency and applies these ideas to the 'second-class agency which artefacts acquire once they become enmeshed in a texture of social relationships' – like remembrance.[74] Meaning is not simply inscribed upon objects by human agents. The power dynamic between subjects and their objects is understood in terms of the non-person-ness of things, so that we can interpret, dominate, own, possess objects freely in a way we cannot with people. Parkin ascribes this thinking that separates body and object to classic ideas about the complete, unified body.[75] He argues for the extension of personhood beyond the biological body.

The meaningfulness of the encounter between subject and object is not driven straightforwardly by the agency of persons. On the one hand, there is the predominant idea that any object can provide a sense of self-hood. It is humans' emotional response that affords the objects such relevance. Any object will do to generate, awaken or enliven memory and it is not even the authenticity or original ownership of a thing that evokes memory and identity but a sort of desire. Primo Levi poignantly describes the relationships prisoners at Nazi concentration camps developed with material objects

> But consider what value, what meaning is enclosed even in the smallest of our daily habits, in the hundred possessions which even the poorest beggar owns: be it a hanker-chief, an old letter, the photo of a cherished person. These things are part of us, almost like the limbs of our body; nor is it conceivable that we can be deprived of them in our world, for we immediately find others to substitute the old ones, other objects which are ours in their personification and evocation of our memories.[76]

Memory then, is a practice and a process not a pre-given object of our gaze, but is born out of the act of gazing and the objects it generates. The memorial gaze will always generate objects of memory. As Seamus Heaney recognizes:

> To an imaginative person, an inherited object like a garden seat is not just an object, an antique, an item on an inventory; rather it becomes a point of entry into a common emotional ground of memory and belonging. It can transmit the climate of a lost world and keep alive in us a domestic intimacy with realities that otherwise might have vanished. The more we are surrounded by such objects and are attentive to them, the more richly and connectedly we dwell in our own lives.[77]

So we transform objects and objects transform us. Possessions embody man's subjectivity and have a potentially humanising affect. On the other hand, if the work of Gell and Stewart is taken as evidence, objects do indeed

hold their own powers of agency that is described in the serendipitous encounter with objects.

In contemporary culture the use of symbolic materials has become the primary tool in the active process of identity formation. We invest in objects emotionally and economically to help us articulate our relation to the world. Informally, the physical objects with which we are in daily contact maintain a stable sense of self. They provide us with an image of permanence and stability. We also take pleasure in remembering more formally through the organized fashioning and installing of objects in the home. The home is a space in which we feel sheltered from the pressures of public life and are free to rebuild ourselves through a dialogue with objects and spaces. The task of providing one's own meaning is a daunting one; constantly threatened by the demands of everyday living. The very limited power individuals have over conditions of their existence and the instabilities and change of modernity means that our relationship with objects, both our power over them and the power to be effected by them, has primarily been seen as best enacted in the home.

The home in these models becomes a private museum to guard against the ravages of space-time compression: a generator of a sense of self that lies outside the sensory overloading of consumerist culture and fashion.[78] The centrality of works such as Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past* and Bachelard's *Poetics of Space* in memory studies has set the academic tone towards remembrance in relation to space. Bachelard's claim that 'Memories

of the outside world will never have the same tonality, as those of home' is broadly accepted.[79] However, in recent years there is evidence of a collapse between public and private spheres and the way in which memory is being practised today. Memory is perceived to be moving outwards. Ian Woodward summarizes Bachelard's work as dependent upon divisions between interior and exterior space:

> Bachelard proposed that divisions of geographic space are fundamentally divided between house and non-house, enclosing interior space, and excluding outside.[80]

Woodward goes on to discuss the Australian veranda as an example of 'liminal space'[81] that 'allows for elasticity in the public/private dichotomy'.[82] We could add to this, memory practices that draw on the tensions between public and private space. There are a growing number of memory practices that straddle both public and private registers and it may be that it is no longer just as home-owners that we feel we have control over, and can order objects.

Memory practices suggest new models of space that challenge Bachelard's conceptualization of space as strictly divided between interior/exterior, inside/outside, private/public. A number of rituals practised inside the home are informed by exterior sites of memory and there is an increasing use of public space for what were once private rituals. Olalquiaga has identified a link between the location of cemeteries and memorializing in the home which suggest that perhaps there has been, for a long time, increasing fluidity and relation between public and private memorial practices and sites.[83] During the eighteenth century, Olalquiaga suggests, cemeteries began to be relocated to the outer areas of the city from the more central location within the city.[84] The

impact of this move was an increase of memorializing in the home. This suggests that the relative location of the dead impacts memorializing practices in other spaces. A further example shows how collecting in the home was led by museum practice. Collecting dried flowers, albums and furnishings emerged when natural history museums had begun systematic species collections.[85] There is then, a dynamic between different sites of memory. The relocation of cemeteries meant that in the eighteenth century it was not uncommon after a death to keep the house of the deceased shrine-like and 'freeze' the interior space of the home as Mrs Danvers does with Mrs De Winter's room in Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca.* In the nineteenth century, it was appropriate to display locks of hair and framed photographs of the deceased taken after death in the more public spaces of the home.[86] These practices of remembrance have since become taboo. However, the dynamic between public and private sites of memory continues in new forms. The roadside memorials that concern the rest of the chapter are an example of the growing relaxation of boundaries between public and private worlds and demonstrate the way in which private space is exteriorized in memorial rituals.

iii) Media and 'Conspicuous Compassion'

The move towards the greater expression of grief, mourning and remembrance in public is linked to broader cultural changes engendered by new media content and practices. On television, the proliferation of talk shows, reality TV shows and the rise of the expert have meant that more of our lives are screened on television than ever before. The massive popularity of websites such as *You Tube* which allows people to broadcast themselves

from home, and social networks sites, such as *Facebook* and *My Space,* which focus on public self-presentation have meant that we live more and more of our lives in public. Together they have effectively altered previously held ideas about public and private behaviour that are reflected in changes in memorial consciousness and practices. There is a greater use of public space for what would have once been private rituals of remembrance including the scattering of ashes in public places, the increased use of the internet to create public, virtual memorial sites and roadside memorials.[87]

Stephen Poliakoff's *Gideon's Daughter* (2005) is an example of how these concerns have come to have a wider currency and meaning outside of memory studies.[88] The tension of the drama is created by the play between public and private grieving. The story, a portrait of two individuals brought together through grief, is played out in London during the time of Princess Diana's funeral. Poliakoff uses Diana's death and the public reaction to it as a backdrop to the private grief of Stella (Miranda Richardson) whose son has died in a car accident. The two events are intertwined throughout to make critical comments on the themes of love, loss and celebrity. In the drama, death enters public discourse at a time when the main characters are bereaved. Poliakoff has said of the contrast between the public and private memorializing that Stella's private grief is the more 'intense and valid', whilst the public grief for a woman that most had never met only exposed 'people's desire to be part of history'.[89]

It is not only in fiction that responses to Princess Diana's death have blurred boundaries of public and private memorializing. A study carried out in East Yorkshire examined the spatial memorialisation conducted by a widow named Nancy for her dead husband, Peter.[90] Nancy, who had been keeping her husband's ashes on her mantelpiece for seven weeks, decided to scatter them after watching Princess Diana's funeral on television during which she had 'cried and cried'.[91] Her experience shows the impact that media representations of grief and mourning have in the private lives of ordinary people.

Among the explanations offered for the increase in roadside memorials the public reaction to the death of Princess Diana is prominent. Responses to the deaths of James Bulger, Jessica Chapman and Holly Wells and, more recently, the disappearance of Madeline McCann have been discussed in terms of the 'Dianafication' of ordinary people. Of course, only certain people or groups are taken up by the press and the public in this way. Many murders go unreported by the press, particularly those of marginalized or criminalized peoples such as prostitutes or runaway children. Diana's death saw a mass outpouring of grief and mourning unprecedented in the UK and fuelled the media debate about, what has been dubbed, 'false grief'.[92] 15,000 tonnes of flowers were laid outside Buckingham and Kensington Palace, £25 million was spent on flowers in the first two weeks after her death compared to the £35 million usually spent per year. 2.5 billion people watched the memorial service and people queued for 11 hours to sign 42 books of remembrance.[93]

The hysteria was felt by some to be inappropriate and vicarious. Lord Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking in a documentary said that he believed many of the mourners he met were grieving for themselves.[94] These reactions are considered to have been encouraged by both a manipulative press and by the Prime Minister, Tony Blair. Blair's speech to the press was an extraordinary display of emotion, not usual for a British Prime Minister. He coined the phrase 'the People's Princess' which mirrored the public belief that the death of this woman was an event that belonged to everyone. Tony Blair, who was accused of being obsessed towards the end of his premiership with his place in history, understood the importance of reflecting the public mood. In contrast, the Queen was criticized for not mourning quite enough in public.[95] The public's desire to see grief displayed can be seen as a result of a media industry which feeds the demand for celebrity stories, soap opera dramas, kiss and tell stories and reality shows. One cultural critic has commented that grieving has become a '21st century form of pornography'.[96] Complaints about 'grief tourism' in Soham after the death of Jessica Chapman and Holly Wells would seem to support the notion that a ghoulish fascination with grief has gripped part of the population.[97] Grief tourists were reportedly travelling to the area to have their photographs taken in front of various landmarks related to the murdered girls and were seen eating fish and chips in the churchyard. In an even more macabre act, a book of condolence was stolen from the Birmingham Cathedral.

This abuse of the grief of strangers by the public, newspapers and politicians makes it acceptable to hound the parents or partners of murder victims. The

desire to share in the grief of a stranger is predatory and aggressive. These responses have been described as the 'fascism of flowers' and the 'mob violence of grief'.[98] To refuse to join in, as the Queen was seen to do, is to place oneself outside of the community. In the age of talk shows and phone-ins, ours is a society in which expressing emotion has become increasingly acceptable. In relation to attacks on the vans carrying the accused killers of the Liverpool toddler, James Bulger, Rosie Boycott comments that 'those who think it's normal to send flowers to strangers think its okay to throw stones at them too'.[99]

This emotional exhibitionism is visible in other cultural forms. The number of ribbons, bracelets and pins sold for a growing number of causes reveals that grieving is becoming a part of consumption. The symbolic power of charity bands was such that fake bands were sold with no money going to charity and look-a-likes were available in the high-street store, H&M.[100]

These shifts in public memorializing have influenced the way in which ordinary people have chosen to memorialize those they have lost. This 'look-at-me grief'[101] has also been associated with the desire to erect roadside memorials, as they provide a guarantee that 'the anonymous deceased can be granted a posthumous celebrity, 15 minutes of floral fame'.[102] However, to dismiss roadside memorials as merely mawkish, morbid or reflecting a new celebrity-obsessed culture does not account for the ways in which they contribute to a new sensibility regarding the expression of private grief in public. The creation of highly personalized, public memorial sites that utilize an array of diverse

materials is characteristic of the new sensibilities engendered by the mass media and are reflective of new experiences of space. Instantaneous, temporary, transient, the memorials mirror qualities of the wider cultural scene and reflect how memorial interests change in keeping with societal transformations. Rather than assuming that the mass media of western culture has led to amnesia, media events surrounding death have encouraged private remembrance and instigated new memorial traditions. These have not necessarily replaced older traditions but have become intertwined with them resulting in a creative, eclectic memorializing that incorporates and references both traditional, religious and contemporary commercial culture.

iv) Agencies of Memory

Surrey County Council argue that 'Roadside memorials are a relatively recent development in the UK, there is no tradition or deep cultural reason supporting this practice.'[103] There are examples that contradict this view but in their contemporary form, and certainly in the United Kingdom, roadside memorials can be viewed as a new trend in memorializing that has been on the increase in the last 10-15 years. The Eleanor Crosses, erected in 1290 by Edward I to mark the journey of the funeral procession of his wife, could form the basis of an argument to suggest that roadside memorials are part of our heritage. However, the Eleanor Crosses are not an example of the everyday deaths of anonymous people that most current roadside memorials commemorate. Roadside memorials, as heterotopias of memory, are present in a number of countries, for example, the *descansos* of Mexico, the *kandylakia* of Greece and memorials in Ireland. But, in Britain, the increase in

these memorials is a new phenomenon which has drawn the attention of both the media and the academic world. The ‘spontaneous’ floral tribute is becoming ubiquitous marking sites of terrorist attacks and suicides but most commonly the deaths of those involved in motor accidents. So, whilst it is reasonable for Surrey County Council to suggest that roadside memorials cannot be described as a ‘tradition’ in this country, their continuing prevalence makes it hard to deny that there are ‘deep cultural reason[s] supporting this practice’. The Council’s assumption that there is no long-term tradition means there can be no ‘deep reason’ for the developing practice. But clearly the practice has developed due to dissatisfaction with the traditional forms of memorialising. The reasons behind the increase in roadside memorials may not be deep in the sense of ‘long-standing’, but they are expressions of a ‘deep cultural’ response to bereavement which reveals new attitudes towards memorialising and space. Newcastle City Council, like most UK councils, has no policies or set procedures to follow regarding roadside memorials. Nevertheless, some discussion about their role and place seems necessary, especially if those councils that discourage and limit them, justify themselves by claiming that they are not manifestations of any serious concern.

Roadside memorials offer a form of remembrance in which neighbours, friends and family together montage memory, and which is more informal and personal than traditional, officially sanctioned memorializing. However, the erection, maintenance and form of the memorials have been a matter of dispute involving councils, charities, bereaved families and friends. In response to these highly individual and complex displays, councils have

argued that the memorials are distracting to drivers. In the United Kingdom there appears to be growing official opposition to the erection of memorials. Led by councils in Lincolnshire and Aberdeenshire, four local authorities have refused to allow bereaved families to lay flowers at the site of a fatal crash.[104] They are attempting to introduce a complete ban on permanent roadside memorials and, in the meantime, shrines will be dismantled and flowers removed after a period of just two weeks. Restrictions on roadside shrines are supported by the police; 'health and safety' reasons are usually cited as the reason against them. It is feared they distract drivers and could led to more accidents on the roads. Bereaved families and road safety charities have campaigned against these moves that are felt to be unsympathetic to people in mourning. There is also a suspicion that memorials are removed in order not to draw attention to the death toll on certain roads.[105]

The charitable organisation RoadPeace that supports bereaved and injured road crash victims launched the first ever nation-wide public acknowledgement for those killed or injured in car accidents. The signs introduced on 31 August 2003, are to mark the location of the accident. They take the form of a small plaque displaying a single red flower on a black background and carry the message 'Remember Me'.

Brigitte Chaudhry, National Secretary of RoadPeace, is quoted on the RoadPeace website as saying:

> We would like to see the 'Remember Me' sign erected automatically wherever someone is killed or seriously injured in a road crash - to highlight the scale, remember victims and prevent future tragedies.[106]

This is followed by another quote from Jenny Jones, then the Deputy Mayor of London, who pointed out that

> We have monuments to recent tragedies, like the Paddington rail crash, but not to the thousands of people who have been dying for decades in an everyday slaughter on the streets.[107]

These comments show an attempt to argue that road deaths are equally as shocking and preventable as other sorts of tragedies rather than an almost accepted part of contemporary life. Manchester City Council has agreed to place a plaque at every site where someone is killed,[108] but elsewhere they may be refused or only displayed when requested. If one were erected in every case of death (9 people a day in the UK)[109] the landscape would be dramatically transformed. It seems an admirable scheme to highlight the statistics of fatalities on the road. However, there has been some resistance among academics and mourners to these schemes.

In an interview with *The Guardian,* Geri Excell, one of the few academics writing on the subject, explained that while she admires the design of RoadPeace's signs she has concerns about them having a depersonalizing or institutionalizing effect.[110] The erection of roadside memorials exemplifies the way in which small groups are able to produce their own forms of memorializing that lie outside the confines of the church and the state. However, groups wanting to set up roadside memorials often find themselves having to negotiate with the bureaucracy of local councils and with charities, such as RoadPeace, all of whom have specific and conflicting ideas about the memorials. For Excell, roadside memorials are a 'bottom up' phenomenon that shows how traditional hierarchy is losing its power over popular culture.[111]

While a permanent memorial, such as the one suggested by RoadPeace, may seem to signal progress towards personalizing death, the suggested plaque has none of the intimacy of the more organic roadside memorials. For the people who erect roadside memorials, it is the continual up-keep and maintenance of the site that is important to them. It is through the act of re-visiting the place of death that they are able to remember and mourn. The plaque would avoid the necessity of tending the site. Roadside memorials, unlike permanent memorials, are characterised by temporality, fragility and the need to be renewed and cared for. An essential element in their power consists in their intrusion of intense feeling and individual concern into the impersonal environment of the motorway, and their retention of a single catastrophic moment out of the flow of events. It is these eruptions of the personal into impersonal and the particular into the general that constitute these memorials as heterotopic places.

v) Roadside Memorials and the Transformation of Space

Foucault argued that heterotopic spaces exist in all kinds of cultures but that they have no universal form.[112] Roadside memorials, as heterotopias of memory, take varied forms in different cultures and can, as Foucault's second principle notes, change function over time.[113] Roadside memorials are sites that are always unfinished. Unlike, a gravestone, sculpture or monument, they continually change. They are not static spaces and so their meaning, role and function change over time. When they first appear as a gash on the landscape, an explosion of emotion in otherwise drab and functional spaces, they signal the suddenness and immediacy of the death. After this they can

either move towards permanence and 'invisibility' or slowly disappear. It is easy to assume that, for those most directly involved, the roadside memorial is of greatest importance immediately after the death and in the months following. Before funeral arrangements can be made, laying flowers or placing objects at the site of death is something that bereaved family or friends can do immediately. While relatives' testimonials claim that friends and acquaintances begin to place flowers immediately after the accident, it seems that at first the site is too painful for those very close to the deceased to visit. It is as time passes that the memorials begin to take on more importance as places to feel 'near' to the deceased. One mother describes how quickly the site of her son's death was used as a site for remembrance and how she and her husband then began to build up a ritual of behaviour around the memorial over time that has continued:

> The roadside memorial started straight away...People put hundreds of bouquets around the lamppost and William's friends would gather there. My brother laminated the messages and attached them to the lamppost. Then Michael [the father] began to light a candle there every night, something he's done ever since. While I place fresh flowers there every week.[114]

Other testimonials also describe how the practice begins immediately in a response to the shock of a sudden and violent death and then how the practices around the memorial develop. One family describes how floral tributes had already been placed while their son was still in hospital on a life-support machine. At first it had been too painful for them to visit the site, but they were shown photographs of it by a friend. It was some time before the father visited the spot and he says that now it has become a place 'where we can put flowers on birthdays, Christmas and Easter'; they have built a

permanent stone plaque at the site.[115] Similarly a woman who lost her 24-year-old son says that 'To begin with I couldn't go near this place' but now she visits on his birthday, Christmas, Easter and the anniversary of his death.[116] Anniversaries are, understandably, times of heightened memorializing. The intense investment in the memorials is seen in the continual up-keep and renewal of the site in keeping with anniversaries and also with the seasons. Although roadside memorials are temporary they can be tended for a number of years. Figures 1.1 – 1.3[117] show a memorial that began as a temporary construct and has slowly become more permanent without adopting the institutionalisation of the Road Peace Signs. Figure 1.1 shows the memorial in 2005, figure 1.2 shows the same memorial again in 2009 at Christmas and figure 1.3 dates from March 2009 at which point it has adopted a more spring-like theme.

Figure 1.1 South Gosforth, 2005

Figure 1.2 South Gosforth, 2009

Figure 1.3 South Gosforth, March 2009

Figure 1.4 Coast Road, City bound, 2009

The cellophane-wrapped, shop-bought flowers placed underneath a street sign and held down with bricks have given way to a permanent flower box resting on marble paving slabs, two candle holders and a wooden cross. The flower box containing flowers and plants that are tended and continue to survive represent an attempt, literally and metaphorically, to put down roots there. It signifies that the site is intended to remain and last. It is tidier and more managed. The first chaotic responses - initials scrawled on the street sign and 'R.I.P' written in marker pen on a no-through road sign - have faded or been cleaned off. Figure 1.4 shows a memorial that has been tended for four years from 2005 to 2009.

The Coast Road Memorial in Figure 1.4 is one of the most permanent and largest memorials in the area. It shows the common ways of gradually making sites more permanent by placing a small shrubbery, framed photographs, plaques and stone and plastic ornaments rather than soft toys which ruin easily in the rain. A number of shrines in the area have been maintained for a few years. The notes left there often refer to the passing of time since the accident. One card reads 'Thinking of you…Another year and always so missed', demonstrating the importance to the family of continued visits to and care of the site.

Nevertheless the sites retain their temporary quality. They use ephemeral forms that need to be regularly maintained in the way a permanent gravestone does not. Letters need to be wrapped in plastic, and notes re-pinned, flowers replaced and teddy bears washed. In this way they are

adapted in response to the needs of the mourners and so can change function over time.

The third principle of heterotopia describes how spaces can take on multiple meanings and associations. Foucault describes the heterotopia as 'capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites which are themselves incompatible'.[118] The motorways, high streets and country lanes on which people have died become sites that evoke profound emotion. There has been an increasing appropriation of public space for private grief.[119]

This process is illustrated in the study, mentioned above, of the widow who scattered her husband's ashes after watching Princess Diana's funeral on television.[120] Nancy made the decision to scatter her husband's ashes after she had taken the same walk they had been accustomed to take together, which included a circuit of the local golf course. Her memorializing marks out a public space with private meaning. A secularised leisure facility becomes a memorial site which maintains her connection with him and through which she remembers the time they spent there together. Hallam and Hockey note that what were once 'her shared 'secular' walks with living Peter are now transformed into her 'sacred' walks with dead Peter'.[121] In this way Nancy, who might previously have restricted memorial visits to the churchyard, now incorporates memorializing into everyday life as she continues to take the walk once a week during which she talks to Peter 'by the grass verge and the trees'.[122]

Church graveyards are no longer the only places where one can stage the relationship between the living and the dead. Golf courses, local parks and road sides now provide a counter space or an additional space to locate the relationship between the two, thus creating a sacred site in a secular spot. The assumed desacralization and deritualization of western societies is challenged by the presence of roadside memorials. Although Foucault discusses how Galileo's work contributed towards the desanctification of space he claims

> we may still not have reached the point of practical desanctification of space. And perhaps our life is still governed by a certain number of oppositions that remain inviolable, that our institutions and practices have not yet dared to break down. These are oppositions that we regard as simple givens: for example between private space and public space, between family space and social space, between cultural space and useful space, between the space of leisure and that of work. All these are still nurtured by the hidden presence of the sacred.[123]

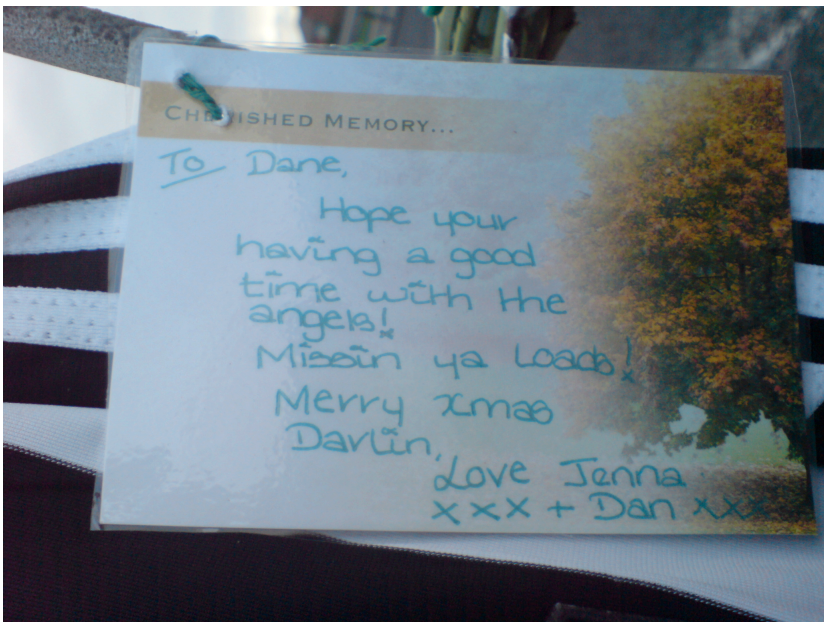
Roadside memorials are an attempt to set up a reserved, special and sacred place within social space and so create a site of multiple meaning. Sites of death embody aspects of the heterotopia by transforming ordinary spaces. Hallam and Hockey recognise the heterotopic nature of memory spaces claiming that 'death has the power to create a heterotopia, that is the layering of meaning at a single material site'.[124] Hallam and Hockey see how layered meaning is produced at a site at which the 'abject and the ordinary are brought into uneasy conjunction'.[125] The abjection at these sites is then brought under control or erased though ritual acts, like placing flowers, which purify the site.[126] One of the primary means of sanctifying the space and

extending personalized space into an anonymous stretch of public road is through memory objects and letters placed at the site.

The site is transformed and appropriated by the arrangement, almost the curatorship, of both newly purchased objects and objects that belonged to the deceased. The objects play a key role in personalising these death spots. The use of personal and everyday objects creates a startling juxtaposition with the anonymity of the site of death. The frequent use of mass-produced commodities at the memorials shows the way in which they can be transformed from commodities to memento mori. Tributes include toys and stuffed animals, poems, photographs, ornaments, clothes, football shirts and scarves, helium balloons and make-shift crosses. The sites are mostly devoid of any serious engagement with religious iconography or scripture. There tends rather to be an eclectic mix of the vaguely spiritual: figure 1.5 shows a homemade cross supported by an ornament of Buddha and figure 1.6 shows a letter which refers to angels that shows a belief in the after-life although the tone is jovial and light-hearted. Others read 'I know you'll be having a ball up there' and 'I know your resting peaceful up there'. Although 'R.I.P' is also often used in written notes and cards, Geri Excell, has noted the lack of religious iconography of UK roadside memorials.[127] Her study found that most UK roadside memorials, in contrast to those in the US and Australia, are individualistic and secular.[128] It is the commodity that takes pride of place at the roadside shrines. However, the do-it-yourself approach of roadside memorials allows for a mix of the popular culture of memorializing and religious ideas and iconography.

Figure 1.5 Coast Road, City Bound, 2005

Figure 1.6 Coast Road, Coast Bound, 2009



The memorials are able to develop in ways that go beyond the rules of church and state cemeteries. The overall effect is to personalize the site and represent the deceased's identity through cultural signifiers sustaining the presence of deceased. In opposition to the 'Remember Me' signs, roadside memorials personalize sites of death through the increasing differentiation of memorials with references to the deceased's personal hobbies and social relationships that keep alive a sense of the deceased's personality and presence for the living.

Mass produced objects, poetry, letters and graffiti play a significant role in the personalization of roadside memorials and are given a central place at the sites. Hallam and Hockey point out that it is materials with connotations of permanence or transience that have traditionally been adopted in the culture of death. These objects are subject to strategies of framing and displaying in which their physical properties are fore-grounded. The transience of flowers and the solidity and permanence of stone have made them key to rituals of remembrance. The symbolic fragility of flowers at roadside memorials emphasizes the fragility of life. Their naturalness is in direct contrast to the artificiality of the concrete environments in which they are placed. The objects displayed become grubby and weathered which adds to the morbid and pathetic feelings they already arouse. Consumer goods, such as flowers, toys, household ornaments, ceramic angels, football shirts and scarves, Christmas decorations including plastic wreaths, Father Christmas figures, Santa hats, are now deployed as gestures of continuity and endurance. Hallam and Hockey argue that these have been transformed into dedicated objects of

memory and describe how plastic and cellophane are now socially acceptable and 'recognizable markers of the sacred'.[129] New materials used to register the permanence of memorials and the preservation of a person's social identities after death are incorporated into sites of memory. Objects and letters must be laminated and wrapped in plastic if they are to last any length of time at a roadside. They maybe ephemeral consumer items but positioned at these sites they become markers of endurance and signify the connection with the past and the deceased.

This move towards permanence also betrays our contemporary desire to preserve and archive everything, even a mass-produced plastic souvenir. Mundane objects involved in extraordinary practices question the commonsense that defines our relationships and responses to the material world. In death, objects are beyond control and can work to destabilise human subjects. Objects associated with death are heavy with significance and can be anything and everything once related to the deceased. There is an important connection between material objects that have shared the same temporal and geographical space as the remembered people or events. Something worn by the deceased can continue to have a strong association with the person. Football shirts are the item of clothing that most often appear at roadside shrines. However, a shirt may be there not because it was actually worn by the deceased but because it is the strip of the team he supported. So it represents his allegiances and enthusiasms rather than a physical connection. Recent writing on clothes and memory emphasizes the gendered nature of this material memorializing. Hallam and Hockey argue that

> instances of memory-making which involve the body and its material environments in sensations of recall, seem intimately related to gendered domains of bodily care, clothing and domestic work and emotional expressivity.[130]

The intensive use of football shirts in the case of figure 1.7 is markedly different from the private, washing, folding, storing of the clothes of a lost child or husband. Remembering the deceased through contact with habitually familiar objects does not always signal a marginalized, female and domestic experience. Unlike material objects seen as part of a feminine and domestic practice taking place behind closed doors, the football shirts signify the community group and shared public interests.

The public display of objects intimately related to the deceased, particularly those objects belonging to children who have died, is particularly poignant. Roadside memorials are mostly erected in memory of the young. The paraphernalia is often sentimental and childlike, for instance teddy bears holding love hearts or wearing T-shirts that read ‘special friend’ or ‘you make me smile’. Unfortunately and unsurprisingly, many of those killed in road accidents are young men with a passion for cars and motorcycles. As a consequence, roadside memorials often combine childhood or child-like objects and language with objects and language associated with young adults. A mother pours Jack Daniels, her son’s favourite alcoholic drink, over the road where her 24-year-old son was killed and buries him with a bottle of Jack Daniels and his first teddy bear. Many of the notes left refer to adult pleasures and their ‘lust for life’, love of drinking and of driving (‘I’m so glad you lived your life for today because sometimes tomorrow never comes’;

Figure 1.7 Newcastle Road, 2009

Figure 1.8 Coast Road, Coast Bound 2009

‘Merry Christmas, thinking of you at this time, we all know you liked to join us in the festivities’). It is also not unusual to find positive references to driving. Figure 1.8 is just one example of the celebration of cars at roadside shrines.

These aspects, the personal objects and optimism and defiance in the face of shock and tragedy are filled with pathos. The teddy bears or football shirts left at roadside memorials, although perhaps intended to celebrate the person’s life, appear out of context and macabre. Selected commodities are appropriated and incorporated within patterns of mourning, grief and remembrance. At roadside memorials, these objects are never finalized or fixed, allowing for the shifting articulation of relationships between living and dead.

The layering or juxtaposing of spaces also has a temporal dimension. Foucault has said of heterotopias that they ‘are always linked to slices of time’.[131] The time the roadside memorial evokes is the last moment where the person was alive. Roadside memorials are heterotopias that acquire layers of meaning as the ordinariness of the road meets with, and is marked by, the abject site of death. Sanitisation of an accident area usually takes place within just a few hours essentially erasing any signs of death and trauma. There may be nothing to show that a death had occurred within a few hours of an accident. Evidence of the actual crash, or moment of impact, is often only found marked on the clothes the deceased was wearing at the time. So one mother decided to keep the clothes retuned to her ‘but with marks of the roadside accident that killed him’.[132] After the official cleaning of the site, it is

then managed through more personalized forms of cleansing primarily seen in the practice of laying flowers.

The accident spots at which people have died are disturbing territories that possess an agency in terms of their effects on persons, actions and patterns of remembrance. The mother of a 13 year old boy killed in London, says 'It means so much to me that he is remembered…This is where he died so it's very significant. It has more meaning to us than his grave because this is the last place he was as I knew him. There's a special feeling here'.[133] Another testimony supports this idea, 'It's strange because sometimes I feel closer to him here than at his resting place'.[134]

The location at which a person dies continues to shape the 'topography of remembrance' so that 'spaces associated with the death are open to memorializing through ritualized practices'.[135] This again suggests the linked nature of different memorial sites and further highlights the heterotopic quality of memory spaces as spaces which are always linked to other sites.

In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre discusses the way in which private space subsumes entrances, thresholds, reception areas, and family living spaces that are public, along with places set aside for retreat and sleep that are considered as private. In the same way, he sees the public spaces of the temple or palace as containing private and 'mixed' aspects and concludes that much the same may be said of the town as a whole.[136] So that public space has elements of, or contains, private space. This approach to spaces

as neither purely private nor wholly public fits with the heterotopic memory space of the roadside memorial and challenges previously held notions of the private home as the best place for memory. Even though Woodward has argued for the special relationship between objects and the home, he claims that the home, marked both by the highly personal and the strongly social, encompasses private and public meanings.[137] So, while the philosophical and psychological implications of domestic space have now been recognized to be of importance because of the pressures of modern public life, there needs to be some inquiry into the potential of 'mixed' spaces in memory practices.

Foucault's description of heterotopia as marked by 'systems of opening and closing' refers to the symbolic acts that must be performed before entering certain sacred or holy spaces. The roadside memorials act as thresholds between private and public but it is not entirely clear when they begin and end. One memorial (figure 1.1, page 100) shows a traffic sign incorporated into the memorial; a road sign marking a no-through road has been inscribed with the letters 'R.I.P' thus transforming it into part of the memorial. The same spot shows the initials of the deceased written on the street name. In this way the mourners have appropriated these public signs for their private grief and altered their meaning. They constitute holy, or sacred spaces and in this way they are set apart and mysterious. When photographing them, one becomes aware that their combination of private and public is complex and fraught with tension. Simply walking up to them, reading the messages left there, although they are, presumably, meant to be read, is uncomfortable. It is a public space that has elements of the private. Roadside memorials along with cremation,

and the scattering of ashes, have been recognised as one of the main practices through which mourners use public spaces for private remembrance. Although highly personal the memorials are intended to be visited and appreciated by those outside particular communities of mourners. The displays openly address unknown visitors, anticipating wider interest and welcoming their attention. One woman describes being embraced by passersby while at her son's memorial. Roadside memorials invite the attention of strangers.

As heterotopias of memory they act as sites of otherness by essentially closing the gap that separates the dead from the living. Death has historically had its specific locations which, as already mentioned, shape the nature of remembrance. Roach describes the changing spatial location of the dead from the medieval period, when the deceased were 'ominipresent' both spiritually (spirits continued to occupy the spaces of the living) and materially (when places of burial were also used for trade) to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the living and the dead were increasingly segregated. As Roach argues

> the dead were compelled to withdraw from the spaces of the living...new practices of interment evolved, eventually including cremation, to ensure the perpetual separation of the dead and to reduce or more strictly circumscribe the spaces they occupied. As the place of burial was removed from local churchyard to distant park, the dead were more likely to be remembered (and forgotten) by monuments than by continued observation in which their spirits were invoked.[138]

The established processes of the marginalization and containment of the dead based on differentiation and separation are challenged by the counter-memory of roadside memorials that evoke death in our public, shared and everyday landscapes. Death is not usually integrated into everyday life. One letter (figure 1.11, page 130) casually signs off 'Anyway got to go now' as if they write regularly and underlines how the writing of the memorial card was just one of things they had to do that day. One of the great sadnesses of roadside memorials is that they are often very near to the deceased's home. Victims are often knocked down close to where they live - on their paper round, crossing the road. The newspaper article that uncovers stories behind roadside memorials describes how 'Every evening Michael Walford-Grant makes the five-minute journey from his home to a lamp-post that has become a shrine to his son William'.[139]

The local nature of the spots adds a dimension of intimacy and may force the bereaved to acknowledge the site. It is perhaps because many road victims are killed near home, that the transition of private objects into public space does not seem like so much of a transgression. One family describes how they pass the memorial that marks the site of their son's death every day on their way to work.[140] Another woman says of the roadside memorial dedicated to her sister 'It's way of keeping in touch, and we're able to say we're just "popping up to see Pat"'.[141]

The frequency and closeness of the site that may mean these roadside memorials are easier to accommodate into everyday life than visiting a

cemetery. Cemeteries are secluded, laid out like a garden; they are places that offer quiet contemplation and a reverence for the dead quite different from the inhospitable environment that surrounds roadside memorials, which are near traffic, outside other people's houses or on a busy high street.

Figures 1.9 And 1.10 below show a small memorial on the busy high street, Chillingham Road, in Heaton. The memorials stand out as a riot of colour against the homogeneity of the high street. Memory takes place alongside the banality of everyday shopping. It happens outside of a *Spar* and video rental shop, across from *Simply Drinks*, surrounded by traffic.

The sixth heterotopic principle states that heterotopias have a function in relation to all other space. Roadside memorials evoke that which has been lost. So, particularly in the case of the death of a child, the evocation of objects and associated spaces are key to the symbolism of the sites. Teddy bears conjure up the space of the child's bedroom and mark the site with allusions to domestic space. Roadside memorials begin to take on a hybridity that mixes the look of home and garden in the public street. This process has been noted in a study of graves in a cemetery in Nottinghamshire where gifts and possessions of the deceased were left at the graveside.[142] The items are associated with the everyday life of the deceased and so represent their personalities. In this way the researchers claim that the gravesides are 'transformed into spaces in which the 'living' deceased reside and receive visitors and gifts'.[143] The notion of the deceased receiving visitors demonstrates the way 'home' is projected onto these sites and attempts are

made to make the sites more permanent and represent a new home for the deceased.

Figure 1.9 Heaton, 2007

Figure 1.10 Heaton, 2007

The thresholds between public and private are breached by roadside memorials so that the private space (the deceased's home or bedroom) has a controlling or dynamic force on the public space of their death. Although roadside memorials show a change in memorial culture over recent years and an apparent dissatisfaction with traditional forms of remembrance they often exist alongside other forms of remembrance rather than simply replacing old forms altogether. The bereaved often tend multiple sites of memory, the official place of burial or crematorium, the site of death and often, especially in the case of a child's death, the bedroom may be preserved shrine-like. Roadside memorials do not entirely replace traditional forms of memorializing but are an addition to them, as each site offers a particular sort of remembrance. So it is in their relation to other sites that they have particular meaning. The communication between bereaved groups - the friends, acquaintances, teachers or local tradesmen who add letters, flowers or objects - makes it, for those most intimately connected to the deceased, a distinctly different place from the graveside, with its relative privacy and solemnity. It is a place where the dreadfulness of the death is acknowledged by a wider circle and the person is celebrated and cared about by more than just the nuclear family. It attempts to embrace the different social lives and identities the person had when alive. Strangely, it might be at the site of the road accident that the dead are remembered least as a victim of a road accident. They are not just victims, nor just sons or daughters; the deceased is a football fan, a great mate, a 'star', a 'legend'. The deceased's parents are no longer the lone grievers but are supported by a community of mourners. The roadside memorial is not a collection of things but a symbolic

representation of their identity which was enacted across different spaces through the diversity of their personal and social lives.

Notes and letters are frequently found at roadside memorials. Hand-written, usually in biro, they are distinctly different from the authoritative inscriptions found on gravestones. They can be renewed and replaced. They can be as long or short as required and can use whatever language felt to be appropriate. On a headstone all of this is more controlled by the space and by the policies of different cemeteries. Reading these letters, which are often addressed to the deceased can feel like an extraordinary intrusion. Yet they are publicly displayed and are meant to be read by anyone visiting or passing the memorial. They can be both extremely personal and describe the mundane and everyday. The notes are often written in poor and informal English. Spelling mistakes and the use of exclamation marks are common. Formal names such as ‘Mother’ and ‘Father’ are replaced by the more informal ‘Mam’ and ‘Dad’, ‘mate’ is often used along with unusual nicknames such as ‘lil guinty-willa’.

Many of the letters have strange inclusions, such as positive references to driving, that can be unsettling for the reader but don’t seem to be disturbing to the author. The note in figure 1.11 reads ‘Sam seems to be growing up just like you, doing well with his driving. Reminds me of you every time I look at him’. The language used often displays a determination to control or defy the violent nature and the suddenness of the deaths. The message in figure 1.12 closes with the words ‘No Fear’.

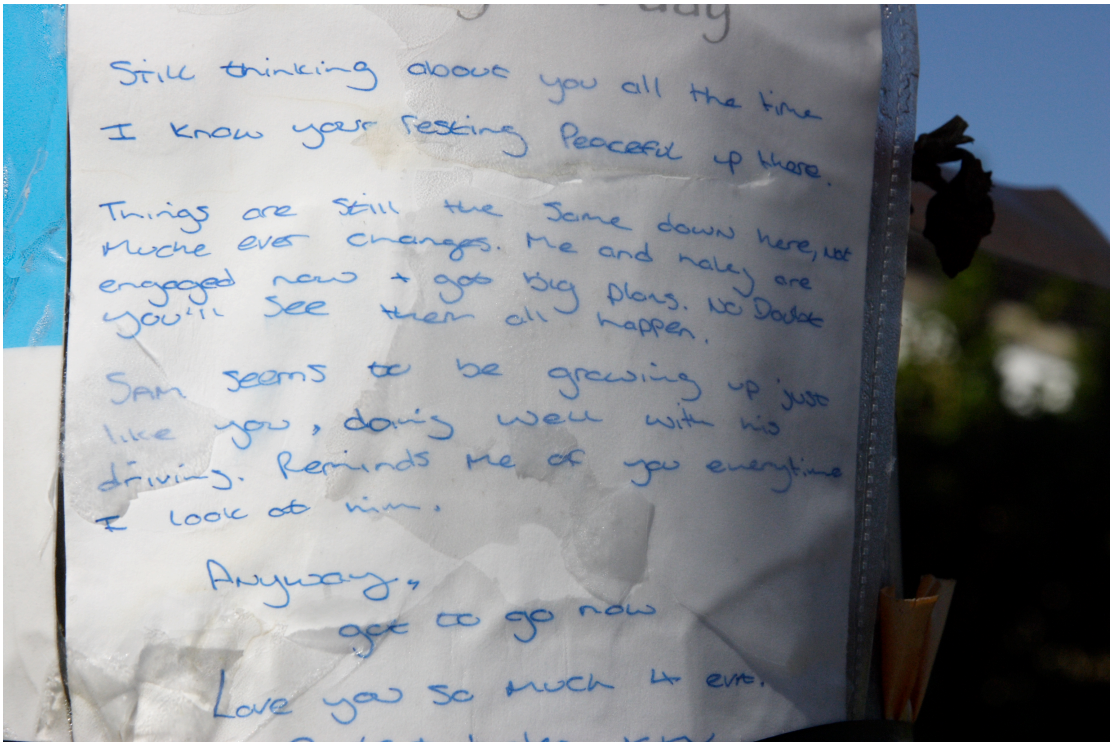


Figure 1.11 Durham, 2005

Figure 1.12 South Gosforth, 2009

But most importantly, the letters and notes act as a way of communicating between groups of mourners and between the living and the dead. Leaving notes is one way for people in the wider community to express their sadness

and show their sympathy and support to the deceased's closest family members and friends. At a roadside memorial in Sunderland even the local butchers had left a message to the deceased. (Figure 1.13)

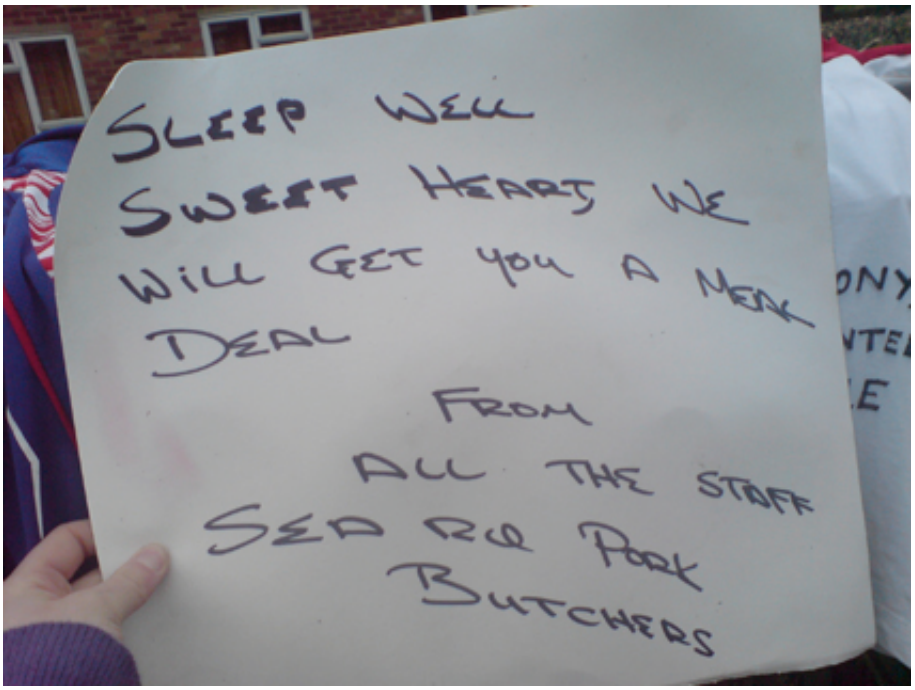


Figure 1.13 Newcastle Road, 2009

Figure 1.14 Newcastle Road, 2009

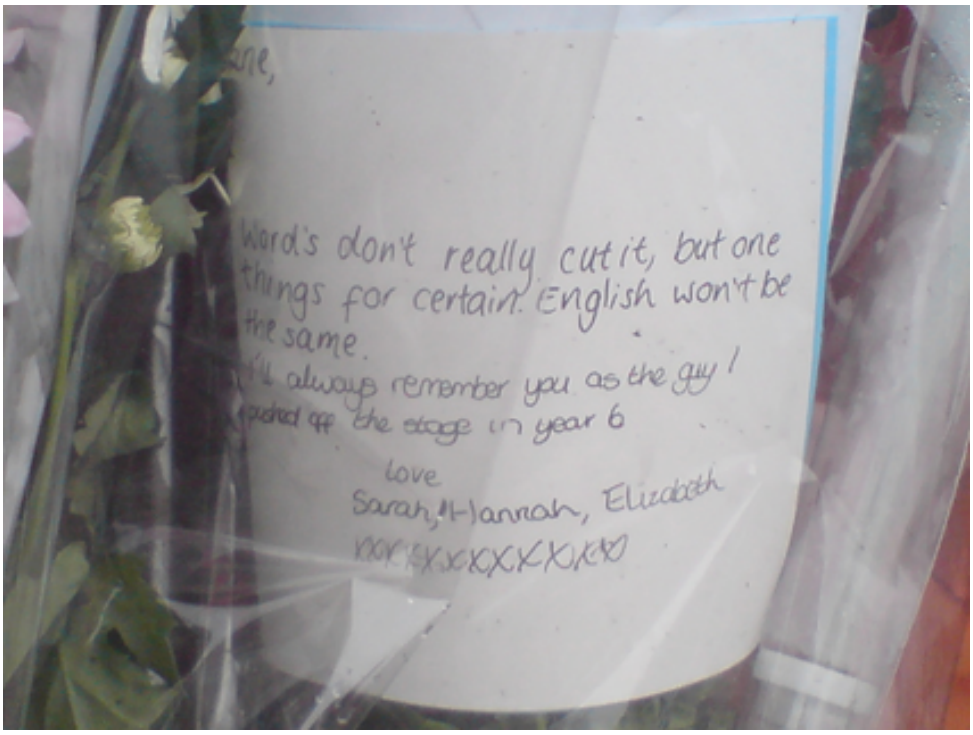
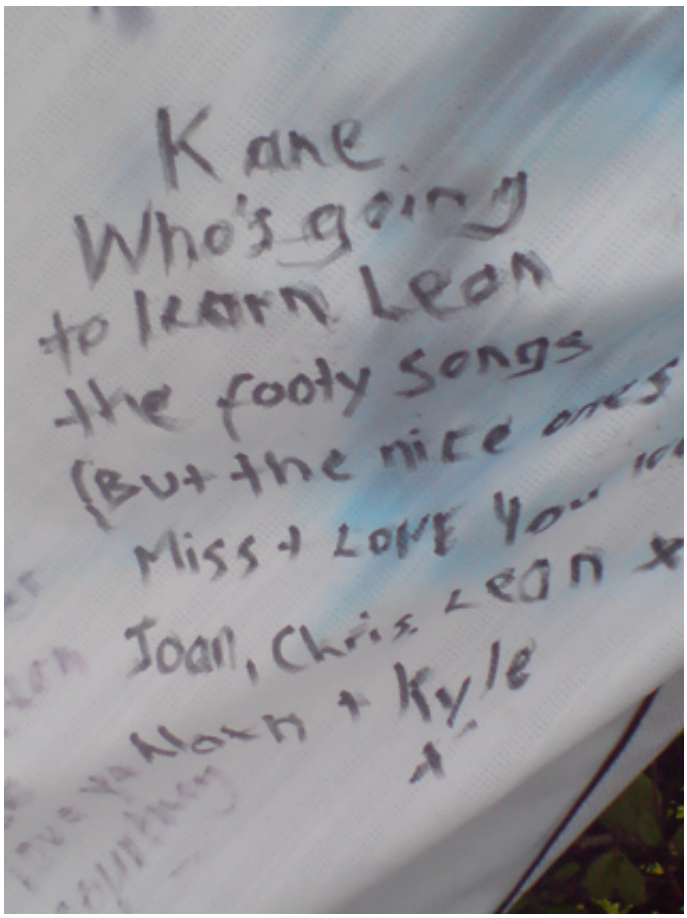


Figure 1.15 Newcastle Road, 2009

Figure 1.16 Newcastle Road, 2009



The note shows evidence of an interested wider memorial community and the promise of the butchers' to the deceased to 'get you a meal deal' shows how the everydayness of the deceased's life is celebrated in death and cements the local nature of memorials.

One family member explains how messages left at a roadside memorial have helped: 'People often leave flowers and messages. Some of the things they write are so touching, when other people remember Philip with fondness it gives us a great sense of pride'.[144] The sites' lack of formality and public location has encouraged young people to become more greatly involved in memorial practices. Figures 1.14 - 1.16 show how roadside memorials for young victims become a place of vigil for their peers and allows communication between the deceased's young friends and their family members.

These tributes acknowledge the importance of these relationships in ways that may not be possible or encouraged at city cemeteries. The roadside memorials' emphasis on informality, creativity and materiality allow teenagers and young adults to communicate their feelings of loss, love and respect in their own language. Here text speak, love hearts, smiley faces, references to football songs, school life and English classes are recognized as an integral part of the memorial practice because they were an important part of the deceased's life. Other messages are written by adults on behalf of very little children, or babies, who may never have known the deceased ('I wish I could

have met you…Mammy said you were a lovely lass and would have loved me, lots and lots of love always, From Baby Callum'.

Other letters show a concern with more adult and complicated relationships and reveal some of the tensions left in people's lives after death. Figure 1.17 and 1.18 are both addressed to the same person and left at the same site. Figure 1.17 expresses the regret felt over chances missed when the deceased was alive and the possible failures of their relationship. The letter writer of Figure 1.18 says

> it doesn't help when you have to put up with other people causing trouble, never mind I'm sure you are looking down on us and giving us the strength to cope with whatever is thrown at us. The question of who I was to you anyway arose. Was I cousin, sister, aunty or mother. Well Dane, I would like to think that you thought of me as all of those, as I certainly did and always will love you like all of those.

This letter, like all the letters, is both addressed to the deceased and to a wider public. The letter is certainly meant to be read by others, perhaps by the people 'causing trouble' and makes a public statement about a relationship that was obviously perceived to be ambiguous.

In a more confrontational move one mother, after the court case of the hit-and-run driver who killed her son, printed a plate saying what the man had done 'I had a plate printed saying what the man had done, about how he left Adam lying in the road in a blatant act of cowardice'.[145] The selection and display of special objects and letters left at memorial sites allow for the preservation of the deceased's personality and for the communication with the deceased and between bereaved groups.

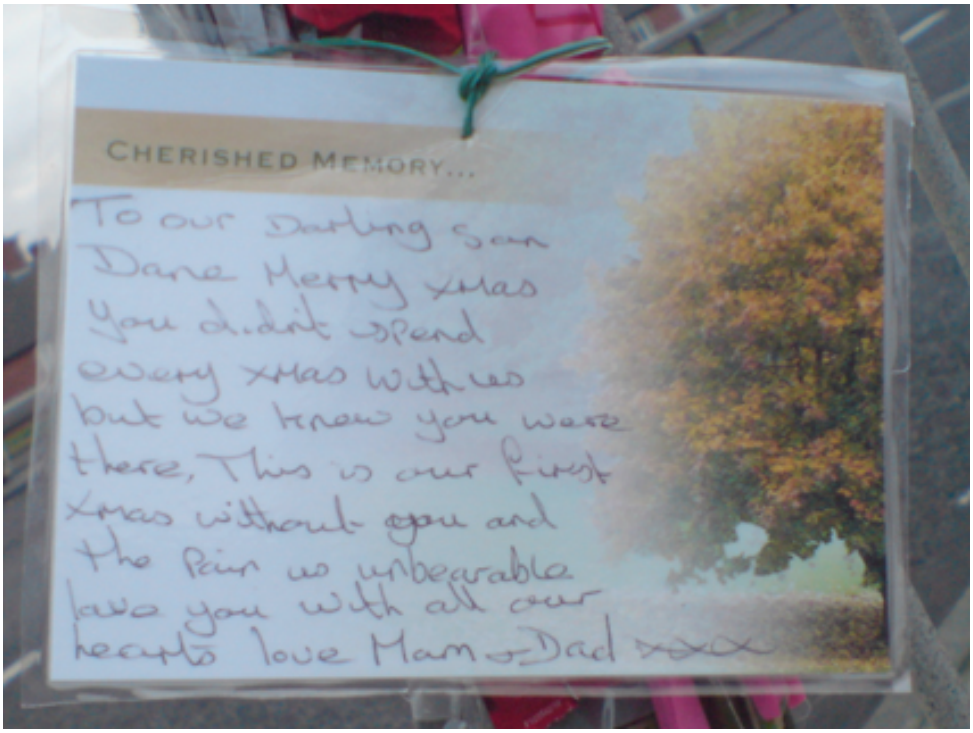


Figure 1.17 Coast Road, Coast Bound

Figure 1.18 Coast Road, Coast Bound

vi) Meaning and Practice: From the Secular to the Sacred

Remembrance is practised in a number of places that both enable and constrain the performance of memory. Memory is not tied to only one place. Particularly during an intense period of mourning, the power of grief has the ability to transform previously meaningless objects and spaces. The private and the public and the sacred and the profane cross and overlap in an effort to make the absent present, to capture the personality of the deceased and to find a way of rooting memory in space at a time of an increased sense of placelessness. The erection of roadside memorials exemplifies the way in which small groups are able to produce their own forms of memorializing that lie outside the confines of the church and the state. However, groups wanting to set up roadside memorials often find themselves having to negotiate with the bureaucracy of local councils. Newcastle Council currently has no policy on the erection of roadside memorials; they claim to treat each case individually and sympathetically. They work with the police to ensure the memorials are in safe locations; they don't necessarily support the practice and they do clear away objects and flowers left at memorials after a few weeks.[146]

Rather than seeing them as empty or crass, roadside memorials can be seen as a way of challenging Nora's outmoded conceptions of memory. This sort of contemporary memorializing shares qualities that Nora implies are confined to pre-modern memory or non-Western societies. Roadside memorials are community-based, bottom-up practices and are resistant to the authorities of

state remembrance. They challenge the way in which Nora's work overemphasises the discontinuity between pre-modern and modern memory. Roadside memorials exemplify the politics of spatializing memory and expose the continual struggle over the regulation of memory practices in public space. These regulations attempt to establish and control where and how memory can be practised and, in this way, spatially segregate certain memorial groups and the remembrance of different people. Memory involves the production of special sites of memory at which the organization of objects and embodied actions are crucial and articulate relations of gender, social status and wealth. To some, they may appear crass or tacky just as the response to Diana's death appeared mawkish and sentimental, but roadside memorials are indicative of a wider collapse in the distinction between the public and private in memorial discourse.

Roadside memorials produce topographies of intimate and personal histories that have traditionally been contained in the domestic sphere or the graveyard. The continued need for a sense of the sacred, even in secular space, is shown in the rituals that surround death. The memorials encompass public performances and aspects of mundane everyday practices, mobilizing objects usually associated with sacred space as well as those located within domestic arenas. They show how new traditions of memorializing will continue to develop, while others are overturned and some still incorporated. Through the study of memorializing, which draws on shared meanings in shared spaces, we can explore how individuals and groups react to and produce

meaning from their surrounding cultural environment and how they have the potential to produce heterotopic sites, heterotopias of memory.

[1] Some see heterotopic space as evidence of the increasing dislocation and segregation of space. Exemplary approaches can be seen in: Mike Davis, *City of Quartz* (London: Verso, 1990); Peter Marcuse, 'Not Chaos, but Walls: Postmodernism and the Partitioned City', in Gibson and Watson, pp. 243-252; Peter Marcuse, 'Dual City': A Muddy Metaphor for a Quartered City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 13: 4, 1989, pp. 697-708.
[2] Michael Sorkin, *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Noonday Press, 1992); Marc Augé, trans. by John Howe, Non-Places: *Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London and New York: Verso, 1995); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976); Edward Relph, 'Postmodern Geographies', *Canadian Geographer*, 35: 1, 1991, pp. 98-105.
[3] Julian Barnes, 'Kitty Zipper' in *The New Yorker*, 29 September 1997, pp. 78-82. p. 78.
[4] See Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley, eds, *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* (Oxford: Berg, 1999); Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), Adrian Forty and Suzanne Kuchler, eds, *The Art of Forgetting* (Oxford: Berg, 1999).
[5] Henri Lefebvre, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1991); Allen Pred, 'Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies,' in *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies*, ed, Allen Pred (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990), pp. 3-40; Allen Pred, 'Place as Historically Contingent Process : Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places', in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74: 2, 1984, pp. 279-297; Nigel Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*, (London: Routledge, 2007).
[6] C. Nadia Seremetakis, ed, *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).
[7] Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p. 77.
[8] Lewis Holloway and Phil Hubbard, eds, *People and Place: the Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), p. 81. A key text in this area is Douglas C. D., Pocock, *Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place* (London: Croom Helm, 1981).
[9] Marcel Proust, trans. by C. K Scott Moncreiff and Terence Kilmartin, *The Remembrance of Things Past* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1988), pp. 47 – 48.
[10] Proust, p. 48.
[11] Gaston Bachelard, 'Poetics of Space (Extract)' in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 86-97. p. 86.
[12] Bachelard, 1997, p 89.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley, eds, Material Memories: Design and Evocation (Oxford: Berg, 1999), p. xi.

[17] Holloway and Hubbard, p. 68.
[18] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004). p. 8.
[19] Bachelard, 1997, p. 87.
[20] Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p. 78.
[21] The work of Thornstein Veblen, Georg Simmel and Pierre Bourdieu and the concepts of 'conspicuous consumption' and 'cultural capital' have alerted us to the symbolic investments social groups make in cultural goods to convey a range of complex messages. See Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1994); Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' in *Simmel on Culture* eds, David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (London: Sage Publications, 1997), pp. 174-185; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1984).
[22] Orest Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy' in *A History of Private Life, III: Passions of the Renaissance,* ed, Roger Chartier, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Bellknap Press of Harvard University, 1989), pp. 207-263. p. 207.
[23] Jean Baudrillard (trans. by James Benedict, *The System of Objects* (London: Verso, 1996) p. 80
[24] These ideas are discussed in Adrian Forty and Susanne Kutcher (eds.), *The Art of Forgetting* (Oxford: Berg 1999), p. 2.
[25] Gillian Rose, Doreen Massey and Linda McDowell have been particularly influential in the development of a feminist geography. Their key texts include: Gillian Rose*, Feminist Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999). A brief discussion of the relationship between gender and domestic space can be found in Lewis Holloway and Phil Hubbard, eds, *People and Place: the Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), pp. 90-91.
[26] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)
[27] Juliet Kinchin, 'Interiors: nineteenth-century essays on the 'masculine' and the 'feminine' room' in The Gendered Object edited by Pat Kirkam (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996) pp. 12-29 and Marius Kwint, 'Introduction: The Physical Past' in *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* eds, Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 1-16, p. 12.
[28] Juliet Ash, 'Memory Objects' in *The Gendered Object* edited by Pat Kirkham (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 219-224
[29] Carol Mara 'Divestments' in *A Second Skin: Women Write About Clothes*, ed, Kirsty Dunseath (London: Women's Press, 1998), pp. 57-60.
[30] Marta Ajmar 'Toys for Girls: Objects, Women and Memory in the Renaissance Household' in *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* eds, Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 75-89. p. 78 and p. 85.
[31] Gillian Naylor, 'Modernism and Memory: Leaving Traces' in *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* eds, Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 91-106. p. 93.
[32] Marius Kwint, 'Introduction: The Physical Past' in *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* eds, Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 1-16. p. 12.
[33] Hallam and Hockey, p. 19.
[34] Ibid, p. 69.
[35] Ibid, p. 198.
[36] Pope John Paul II, *Memory and Identity: Conversations at the Dawn of a Millennium* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2005). This discussion of memory and the Marian cult appears in the chapter entitled 'The Maternal Memory of the Church', pp. 168-169.
[37] Alan Radley, 'Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past' in *Collective Remembering*, eds, David Middleton and Derek Edwards (London: Sage, 1990), pp. 46-59. p. 49.
[38] Ibid, p. 58
[39] Ibid, p. 55.

[40] Anne-Marie Fortier, *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000).
[41] Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York and London: Routledge,1995), p. 7.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Daniel Miller, Material Culture and Mass Consumption (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 35.
[44] For a full discussion of the similarities and differences between Hegel's and Marx's conception of objectification see Daniel Miller, Material Culture and Mass Consumption (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), pp. 34-46 chapter title 'Marx Objectification as Rupture'
[45] Miller, p.3 and p.11.
[46] Igor Kopytoff 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed, Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 64-94.
[47] Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed, Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 3-63. p. 13.
[48] Kopytoff, p. 73, 69.
[49] Ibid, p. 73.
[50] Ibid, p. 73.
[51] Ibid, p. 69.
[52] Appadurai, p. 23.
[53] Ibid, p. 22.
[54] Ibid, p. 23.
[55] Jean Baudrillard (trans. by James Benedict, *The System of Objects* (London: Verso, 1996) p. 3.
[56] Ibid, p. 73.
[57] Ibid, p. 74.
[58] Ibid, pp. 80-81.
[59] Ibid, pp. 80-81.
[60] Nisbet (1969) cited in Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p. 23.
[61] Walter Benjamin, trans. by Edmund Jephott and Kingsley Shorter, *One Way Street and Other Writings,* (London: Verso, 1985); Walter Benjamin, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLuaghlin*, The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA. and London: Harvard University Press, 1999b)
[62] Walter Benjamin (1989) cited in Esther Leslie, 'Souvenirs and Forgetting: Walter Benjamin's memory work', in Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, Jeremy Aynsley, eds, *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 107-122. p.115.
[63] Esther Leslie, 'Souvenirs and Forgetting: Walter Benjamin's Memory Work' in Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, Jeremy Aynsley, eds, *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 107-122. p.107.
[64] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), p. 136.
[65] Hallam and Hockey, 2001 and Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[66] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), p. 69.
[67] Ibid, p. xii.
[68] Jean Baudrillard (trans. by James Benedict, *The System of Objects* (London: Verso, 1996) p. 87.
[69] Stewart describes a hierarchy of senses. Touch is associated with the animal realms of sensuality and pleasure whilst vision has been linked to concepts such as reason and abstraction. For Stewart the 'contagious magic of touch is replaced by the sympathetic magic of visual representation'. Aided by sight alone we suffer the alienation of aesthetisizing rather than feeling things acting upon us. Stewart refers to legends in which touch plays an integral role and is positively thematized, such as *Sleeping Beauty, Pygmalion* and *Pinocchio.* In these, she notes that, 'touch is the source of our animation'. p. 69.

[70] Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, Jeremy Aynsley (eds.), *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 5-6.
[71] Stewart, 1996, p. xii.
[72] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Peter Pels 'The Spirit of Matter: On Fetish, Rarity, Fact and Fancy' in P. Sayer, ed., *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 91-121. Lyn Meskell *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present* (New York: Berg, 2004; Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001) in particular the chapter 'Memories Materializing: Restless Deaths', pp. 101-127; Daniel Miller, Material Culture and Mass Consumption (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1987) and
[73] Hallam and Hockey, p. 203.
[74] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 17.
[75] David Parkin, 'Mementoes as Transitional Objects', *The Journal of Material Culture*, 4: 3, 1999, pp. 303-320.
[76] Primo Levi, *This is Not a Man (*London: Sphere Books, 1979), p. 33.
[77] Seamus Heaney, 'The Sense of the Past', *History Ireland* 1: 4, Winter 1993, pp. 33-37. p.33
[78] Harvey, p. 292.
[79] Bachelard, 1997, p. 87.
[80] Ian Woodward *Understanding Material Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 2007), p. 156.
[81] Liminality is a term that has been used by anthropologists to describe the transitions (social and spiritual) that people undergo during a rite of passage. It has been used to describe places that suggest qualities of ambiguity, multiplicity and openness and that are in some way between different thresholds. Victor Turner and Arnold Van Gennep have been influential in developing this concept. For a definition and a discussion of this term, see *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts* ed, Nigel Rapport, Joanna Overing (London: Routledge, 2000. p. 229.
[82] Woodward, p. 156.
[83] Celeste Olalquiaga, *The Artificial Kingdom: A Treasury of the Kitsch Experience* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1999).
[84] Ibid, p. 282-284.
[85] Ibid, p. 281, pp. 284-285.
[86] Hallam and Hockey, p.141.
[87] *Virtual Remembrance* offers a virtual page in a Book of Remembrance for a one-off payment of £10, inscriptions are in the style of medieval manuscript text. http://www.virtualremembrance.co.uk/ [Accessed 18 February 2009]. *World of Remembrance* provide a free virtual memorial including a book of remembrance and photo gallery. http://www.worldofremembrance.com/ [Accessed 18 February 2009]. *Virtual Graveyard* sell virtual graves ranging from 20 - 300 euros, you can add a candle for 20 euros which will burn for 180 days and for a further 20 euros they will provide flowers for this time also. You are given the option of changing the weather,(sunny, rain, thunderstorm) and time of day at which you visit. They manage over 900 virtual graves at this site, without counting the catacombs and pet graves. There are sites dedicated to deceased persons from every decade of the twentieth century and even one dating as early as 1712. [http://virtualgrave.eu/ Accessed 18 February 2009].
[88] *Gideon's Daughter*, BBC, Edinburgh, 26 Feb 2006 [video: VHS]
[89] BBC, (2006). *Gideon's Daughter* [online]. http://www.bbc.co.uk/drama/poliakoff/gideonsdaughter/askpoliakoff4.shtml. [Accessed 25 May 2006].
[90] Hallam and Hockey, p. 94.
[91] Ibid, p. 93.
[92] *Don't Get Me Started!*, 'False Grief', London, Five, 23 Aug 2006 [video: VHS].
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] The most memorable example of this was a headline in *The Sun* newspaper, 'Where is Our Queen? Where is her flag' Thursday, September, 1997
[96] Charlotte Wyatt (producer) (2006) 'False Grief', *Don't Get Me Started!* [videocassette]. London, Liberty Bell Production.

[97] Sean O'Neil, 'Soham Pleads with Trippers to Stay Away', *The Telegraph* 26th August 2002 [online] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1405391/Soham-pleads-with-trippers-to-stay-away.html. [Accessed 4 Feb 2009].
[98] Ian Jack cited in Blake Morrison 'Saying it with Flower', *The Guardian* Thursday 3 November 2005, p. 8; Rosie Boycott in 'False Grief', *Don't Get Me Started!* [videocassette]. London, Liberty Bell Production.
[99] Charlotte Wyatt (producer) (2006) 'False Grief', *Don't Get Me Started!* [videocassette]. London, Liberty Bell Production.
[100] Patrick West dismisses a range of memorial practices which he argues constitute an age of 'conspicuous compassion'. See Patrick West, *Conspicuous Compassion: Why Sometimes it Really is Cruel to be Kind* (London: The Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 2004).
[101] Barnes, p. 78.
[102] Blake Morrison, 'Saying it with Flowers' *The Guardian* Thursday 3 November 2005, p. 8.
[103] Surrey County Council, (2009) 'Roadside Memorials' [online] http://www.surreycc.gov.uk/SCCWebsite/sccwspages.nsf/searchresults/d658779156a606888025701c003bd31b?OpenDocument. [Accessed 4 Feb 2009].
[104] Dipesh Gadher, 'Council ban shrines to road crash victims', *The Sunday Times*, 24 October 2004. [online] http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article498305.ece. [Accessed on 4 Feb 2009].
[105] Dipesh Gadher, 'Council ban shrines to road crash victims', *The Sunday Times*, 24 October 2004. [online] http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article498305.ece. [Accessed on 4 Feb 2009].
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[107] Ibid.
[108] RoadPeace, 'News and Events' [online] http://www.roadpeace.org/index.asp?Pageid=209. [Accessed 4 February 2009]
[109] RoadPeace, 'National Memorial Campaign' http://www.roadpeace.org/index.asp?PageID=91. [Accessed 4 February 2009]
[110] Blake Morrison, 'Saying it with Flowers' *The Guardian* Thursday 3 November 2005, pp. 8-13. p. 12.
[111] Geri Excell, 'Britain's 'Punk' Mourning Culture' in *Layers of Dying and Death* edited by Kate Woodthorpe (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2007), pp. 45-54. p.46
[112] Foucault, 2002a, pp. 229-236. p. 232.
[113] Ibid, p. 233.
[114] Andrew Hartley, 'Moving Stories Behind the Roadside Shrines', Daily Mirror, Saturday November 18, 2006, pp. 28-29. p. 29.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid, p. 28.
[117] All photos of roadside memorials used in Chapter 1 are the author's own.
[118] Foucault, 2002a, p. 233.
[119] Davies 1997, Hallam and Hockey 2001, p. 6.
[120] Hallam and Hockey, p. 94.
[107] Ibid.
[122] Ibid, p. 93.
[123] Foucault, 2002a, p. 230.
[124] Hallam and Hockey, p. 84.
[125] Ibid, p. 83.
[126] Ibid, p. 83.
[127] Geri Excell, 'Britain's 'Punk' Mourning Culture' in *Layers of Dying and Death* edited by Kate Woodthorpe (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2007), pp. 45-54. p.45.
[128] Ibid, p.47.
[129] Hallam and Hockey, p. 210.
[130] Ibid, p. 194.
[131] Foucault, 2002a, p. 234.
[132] Hallam and Hockey, p. 194.
[133] Andrew Hartley, 'Moving Stories Behind the Roadside Shrines', Daily Mirror, Saturday November 18, 2006, pp. 28-29. p. 29.
[134] Ibid, p. 30.

[135] Hallam and Hockey, p. 212
[136] Henri Lefebvre, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith The Production of Space (Oxford, UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 153-155.
[137] Ian Woodward *Understanding Material Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 2007), p. 155.
[138] Joseph, R. Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 50.
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[140] Ibid.
[141] Blake Morrison, 'Saying it with Flowers' *The Guardian* Thursday 3 November 2005, p.11.
[142] Hallam and Hockey, p. 147.
[143] Ibid, p. 151.
[144] Andrew Hartley, 'Moving Stories Behind the Roadside Shrines', Daily Mirror, Saturday November 18, 2006, pp. 28-29. p. 29.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Telephone conversation with John Robinson, Project Engineer, Newcastle City Council, 30th January 2009.

Chapter 3

Memory and Monument

The roadside memorials that are the subject of Chapter 2 show the appropriation of public space by individuals and small groups, how ordinary people attempt to stake a claim in public space. As a result the city becomes a site of struggle for memory practices and memorial representation is tied to wider spatial politics that govern where a group's memories can reside. The public art and monuments that memorialize the city and its inhabitants, are a focus of spatial politics and thematically engage with issues of memory, space and identity on a much larger scale.

Following work in the previous chapter, I consider how these sites could be described as heterotopic. Roadside memorials may seem more obviously to fit the heterotopic model of the otherness of certain spaces. They are an example of a particularly creative use of space. Their impact derives from the fact that they are intrusions of strong, immediate, felt needs into the public sphere. This makes them of specific interest in terms of the structures and agencies involved in memory practices. However, instead of suggesting that only sites characterized as subversive or resistant can be usefully described as heterotopic, the thesis considers official efforts of memorializing in relation to the concept. Kevin Hetherington warns that the tendency to restrict scholarship to sites of resistance is to romanticize and limit the study.[1] He sees heterotopias primarily as sites of the ordering of knowledge that includes

official or authoritative sites. In relation to heterotopias of memory, it is not only countermemorial sites, such as the roadside shrine, that interrupt the apparent continuity and normality of space. All memorial forms are an attempt to establish a symbolic ordering of the world. They organize part of the social world differently from the space around them. They perform a mirroring role in that they create a 'space of illusion' that exposes other space as 'still more illusory', or by creating a space as 'perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged' as those around it are 'messy, ill constructed and jumbled'.[2] They evoke temporalities distinct from those in the surrounding places and so they are spaces set apart, both open and isolated. The stasis of memorial works in the flux of the city interjects an alterity into everyday life. Furthermore, as Foucault states, heterotopias really begin to function 'when men arrive at an absolute break with their traditional time'.[3] The postmodern geographies that are currently shaping cities have been discussed in terms of a kind of collapse, or break from previous orders and the presence of memory (or, as some would see it, the absence of 'real' memory) has played a significant role in the creation of these new landscapes.

Change is now considered to be the most consistent characteristic of our lives. The relationship between cities and memory is fraught because cities are characterized by radical shifts which memory cannot withstand. Cities, associated with progress and the future, seem to stand in contradiction to memory.[4] The surfaces of the city, like a palimpsest, are repeatedly written over because the city is governed by changing social and economic interests that use the memorial landscape to construct new identities.[5] The cities of

Berlin and Los Angeles, in contrasting ways, have come to stand for the crisis of memory in urban centres. Berlin has been seen as a site particularly charged with memory and as haunted by the past. Its troubled post-war unification has meant that it has been of particular interest to memory scholars.[6] On the other hand, Los Angeles has come to stand for postmodern place as devoid of history and marked by amnesia.[7] It is the primary postmodern site both for those theorists wishing to celebrate the city for its playfulness and irony, and for those who declare it as fragmented and superficial.[8] The dominant presence of these cities in academic work has to some extent created a dependence on the models of memory they present and may prevent the study of memory in a wider range of places. Though Newcastle has undergone significant changes – the damage and upheavals of the Second World War, the radical city planning of the 1950s and 1960s and the overall shift from an industrial to postindustrial economy - nevertheless it is a city that does not fit easily with the polarized positions of the existing templates. David Parker and Paul Long express similar concerns about the paradigms employed in relation to the study of urban change. They argue that although currently, 'No topic is sexier than the city', the way in which studies have repeatedly returned to the same cities (LA, New York and Tokyo), limits thinking and closes down more specific questions by assuming that these cities can act as models for experience elsewhere.[9] They ask, 'Are such cities more exceptional than typical? Should their stories of urban change stand as archetypes for all to emulate?'[10] This chapter is attentive to the specificities of memorializing in Newcastle, which has, in some respects, become a model city in terms of the art of regeneration,[11] but which should

not be readily and unthinkingly diagnosed as suffering from the amnesia and placelessness that regeneration is assumed to produce.

Significantly, the *Angel of the North,* the icon of the recent transformations that have taken place in the North East, marks an attempt to construct new 'place-myths' of the region through an engagement with the past, as do many of the works of public art along the Gateshead Riverside Sculpture Park.[12] The creation of a new place, NewcastleGateshead, (albeit one that could be argued to exist only in tourist literature and policy documents) is partly due to cultural and artistic works that trade on the past. An acceptance of dominant thinking on cultural regeneration might lead to the belief that the public art of NewcastleGateshead activates not remembrance but forgetting.[13] The past is merely used to establish the unique selling points of the city and is mobilised in pursuit of the authentic and different in the present. It is a tool for legitimizing recent cultural renewal and development through a dialogue with the past that works by mobilizing local narratives of the region's industrial strength. The well-rehearsed argument that newly regenerated areas such as the NewcastleGateshead quayside represent the rise of homogeneity and the end of place, will not be repeated here. Instead the impact that the development of NewcastleGateshead has had in re-ordering the spaces of the city will be considered in a way that suggests it goes beyond the creation of a tourist zone, a packaged landscape constructed for the voyeuristic gaze of the outsider. The role of memorial art has a place in the creation of topophilia. A reappraisal of current thinking on the subject will expand the range of spaces in which memory is constructed and contested.

The ordering and naming of places, such as the new NewcastleGateshead, is part of the effort to create and maintain memory and identity. In the creation and placement of particular sorts of memorial art NewcastleGateshead has physically and symbolically laid claim to a new centre and in doing so has rendered other areas peripheral.[14] Goffman's work on the symbolic manipulation of space through the creation of 'staged', 'front spaces' (the salon) and relaxed, less strictly-regulated 'back-spaces' (the kitchen or family room) offers useful ways for thinking about how the city contains different spaces for the articulation of memory, each of which regulates the nature of remembrance.[15] NewcastleGateshead has created a new geography of centre and periphery in the city by codifying some areas as spectacular and others as marginal.[16] These new divisions are not just spatial but cultural and social, as the new order has the power to legitimize and debunk not just types of artistic production but cultural life, groups and activities. To grasp the contrasts in the city's public art, it is necessary to engage both with the postmodern works that address problems of representation, remembrance and placelessness and with populist works. A comparison of Antony Gormley's *The Angel of the North* and Richard Deacon's *Once upon a Time…* with Bob Olley's *Famous Faces* and Dick Ward's *The History of Gateshead* illustrates these two aesthetic modes and shows how memory is spatialized in the city in relation to interests of power, tourism and different publics.

Public art and memorials are the iconographic forms and commemorative stages that organize our relationship with the past. Our cities are defined by different aesthetic and architectural periods that accumulate into a sense of

tradition. They have specific, generic narratives and images attached to them and these can be re-inscribed through the commissioning of highly symbolic public art. A memory walk through Newcastle tells the story of local men lost to war, of an industrial stronghold in decline, of the city's dignitaries and the ordinary people, footballers and entertainers who have lived there. It tells this story through stone, iron and paint, through sculpture and cartoons, in 'textured time'.[17] The memorial aesthetics of Newcastle are a montage of high and popular art that finds its homes in public squares, shopping malls, hospitals, on the banks of the Tyne and on public transport. These memorial forms put on a theatrical display that make up an historical tableau that unfolds as you move through the city. Bracketing off moments of space and time, they project ideals of civic life for our consumption and represent both a 'dramaturgical as well as a territorial act' by embodying the ideals and beliefs of the state into the memorial topography of the city.[18] They are spaces of communication and meaning in which an audience of memory may potentially be found and organized.

Although they make up the most common form of memorializing, monuments and memorials have come under serious scrutiny concerning the possibility of representing the totality of the city and the diversity of its peoples. For example, Jacques Derrida has written:

> A city is a memory and a promise which are never confused with the totality of what is presently visible, presentable, constructed, habitable.[19]

The city, like the past, has been described as 'unrepresentable'. As M. Christine Boyer writes we have become fearful of 'erecting perspectival

wholes and illusionary totalities that might exclude or homogenize what we believe must remain plural and multiperspectival'; yet her own work is nostalgic for a genuinely democratic public sphere which can only be replaced by 'partial attachments - to this local community, to that particular history'.[20] In this way, any sense of totality can only come from reading across the patchwork of disconnected images that the city offers up and from an understanding of the intervals between places. The works considered here are open to a wide range of interpretations and are rooted in different visions of the city's past, present and future. It is important not to ignore the complexities of memory sites through limiting assumptions about their construction and use. The application of the concept of heterotopia may help to provide a more nuanced account by emphasizing the relations between sites and so rescue these forms from the intense criticism they have often received.

i) Between Wars

This chapter is predominantly focused on contemporary public art in the city. However, war memorials that were the primary spaces of public memorializing during the twentieth century, must be discussed as potentially heterotopic. Even though Hallam and Hockey have argued that all sites related to death have a heterotopic quality - and they label the *Tomb of the Unknown Warrior* and the *Cenotaph*, arguably the two most symbolic war memorials in the UK, as heterotopic - studies of war memorials so far have not embraced the concept.[21] Rather T. G. Ashplant et al argue that the study of war memorials has suffered 'unhelpful dichotomies' due to disciplinary divisions that have

produced two dominant and distinctive ways of theorizing the processes of remembrance and commemoration.[22] The work of Hobsbawm and Ranger, and Benedict Anderson describes a political approach (commonly found in the disciplines of history, political science, international relations and sociology) that sees memorializing as a tool used by the nation state to ensure national identification.[23] Winter and Sivan's work, on the other hand, is critical of models that give too much weight to the political control of memorials. It emphasizes the social action of small-scale, locally-rooted communities and highlights the psychological use of monuments in moments of intense mourning (such studies tend to be found in anthropology, cultural criticism and psychoanalysis).[24] Ashplant et al suggest that the political models assume that the 'required identification of "the people"' is already secured and cannot illuminate the key problem of how (or if) a memorial 'achieves its subjective hold' and the psychological accounts assume a 'universal psyche' and a 'common response to bereavement'.[25] They hold up Alistair Thomson's 'Anzac Memories' as a third approach that emphasizes the inter-dependence of private and personal memories and public forms of commemoration.[26] This relationship is viewed as part of the hegemonic struggle involved in all memorialization.[27]

The business of building war memorials is a complex practice that often involves a number of different groups (the State, the clergy, veterans, the bereaved and artists). The erection of a particular monument is always the result of these different agents and so reading their meaning is understandably a difficult task.[28] For example, the two main memorials in

Newcastle city centre share many characteristics and features; neither list names of soldiers whether lost, wounded or survived and both are Grade II listed and feature St. George who is the patron saint of the Northumberland Fusiliers (See Figures 2.1 and 2.2). Both memorials address two groups, the veterans themselves and the bereaved, represented predominately as female and civilian. One was paid for by public subscription, the other was paid for privately by a local businessman but it is not possible to read this information 'off' the memorials.

The civic theme of *The Response* (described by Alan Borg as 'one of the most spectacular of British War Memorials')[29] belies its private interests; while the pomp of *St George and Dragon* came from the public purse. Aesthetically, *The Response,* designed by Goscombe John is an intimate portrait of ordinary people.[30] It portrays the moment soldiers took leave of their families, intimating the real loss of specific relationships. But it was paid for by Sir George Renwick to mark his fifty years of commercial success on Newcastle Quayside. The altogether more nationalistic statue at Eldon Square was paid for by public subscription, as most public war memorials are - a fact that complicates a strictly top-down reading of memorial art. Jon Davies has noted that as, 'raw data British war memorials present problems'.[31] The lack of access to the hegemonic class, which, it is assumed, built memorials with the intention of controlling the public, means that ideological intent is often assumed and ascribed to memorials.

Figure 2.1 *The Response*, Newcastle, Haymarket

Figure 2.2 *St George and Dragon*, Newcastle, Old Eldon Square

Davies, however, drawing on the work of David Cannadine and Alan Wilkinson, argues that this class was

> largely unsure of itself, and indeed incapable of doing much more than trying to come to terms with its own grief, sense of loss and incompetence. [32]

Their work suggests that the need for repetitive, ritualistic and authoritative memorializing came from the public. Davies describes the drive to memorialize as 'popular and spontaneous' and as coming from a 'cultural source well beyond the reach of any manipulative ideology'.[33] This is perhaps also the reason why the publicly funded memorial took such a nationalistic and traditional form. The people desired these forms of memorializing.

It was hoped that monuments would continue to communicate knowledge over generations. However, as David Lowenthal points out

> We have lost the ready familiarity with the classical and biblical heritage that long imprinted European culture and environment. This century's breach with that legacy leaves us surrounded by monuments and relics we can barely comprehend and scarcely feel are ours.[34]

As stone monuments were the principal technique for organizing collective memory, their continued use and presence in our cities needs analysis even if (perhaps, especially if) they now speak more of forgetting than remembrance. War memorials exemplify several of the principles of heterotopia Foucault outlined: they change function over time;[35] they juxtapose several sites in one real space; they layer or juxtapose spaces in a temporal dimension, they 'are always linked to slices of time';[36] they have 'systems of opening and closing' so that, to access them, certain gestures, rites and purifications are required;[37] lastly, they have a function in relation to all other space.[38]

Much academic work has been carried out on the ability of memorials to change function over time. The construction and destruction of memorials is one way of mapping regime changes. Acts of iconoclasm provide some key instances of change in relation to memory spaces. Laura Mulvey and Mark Lewis' film *Disgraced Monuments* (1991) maps the empty plinths left by the removal of statues of Lenin and Stalin after the fall of Communism in the Soviet Union, showing that rather than erasing memory these startling voids were made more memorable. The television footage of the attack on the statue of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad in 2003 has itself taken on memorial significance. However, even in places less fraught with political tensions, memorials that are erected by elites with an aim of political and social control clearly do not guarantee the way in which individuals interpret the sites.

Memory at the two war memorials in Newcastle's city centre is not uncontested or immobile. People do not read or use them as originally meant. Their meaning has altered between and after the two wars and it will continue to do so. Services that developed around the visitation of these sites such as Poppy Day and Armistice Day, which had been meant to mark the 'war to end all wars', were stopped during the Second World War and when they returned in 1945 their meanings had shifted. The nature and ideological complexity of the Second World War posed far more profound difficulties than the Great War. Adrian Gregory writes that the Second World War 'created a much more complex mythology than the First, a richer popular memory…It was impossible to encapsulate such complexity'.[39] Winter points of that 'after 1914 commemoration became an act of citizenship',[40] remembrance was about

togetherness; it cemented what communal life was left and linked families to the local community and in a broader, and a more vague way, to the nation. However, the early styles of commemoration faded as the war changed. Winter quotes Sassoon's lament that these would later come 'to mock the corpses'.[41] As the casualties mounted the notion of the war as a 'noble communal task' emphasized by the rituals and the verses that commemorated them failed to represent the reality of the war they were enduring.[42] Winter is realistic about the changing meaning of war memorials after the war was over

> Once the moment of initial bereavement has passed, once the widows had remarried, once the orphans had grown up and moved away, once the mission of veterans to ensure that the scourge of war would not return had faded or collapsed, then the meaning of war memorials was bound to change. They could have had no fixed meaning, immutable over time…war memorials have become the artefacts of a vanished age.[43]

The various responses towards memorials, including negative responses such as neglect and vandalism, constitute a continuing dialogue between the public and the State. The people 'speak back' to the State through their treatment of memorials.[44] The monuments have a life outside of specific ritual days, their meanings and uses shift and the groups who use the site also change. So whilst different writers have usefully pointed out that memory is performed in space through ritual action that reproduces 'habit memories',[45] the behaviour at sites of memory such as war memorials is usually confined to official memorial days. Outside of key important dates they are not used as they were intended - as 'places where people could mourn and be seen to mourn'.[46] The memorials are places for lunchtime workers to eat their sandwiches, the homeless to sleep and as a location for teenage skaters, goths, punks and emos to hang out. Even though these subcultural groups

use these places in subversive ways they colonize them because of their evocative qualities, their marginalisation as spaces set apart and special. They are marked out as special sites compared to the privatised space of the rest of the city.

In this way they juxtapose in one real space several sites. The notion that the multiple aspect of a heterotopia can be produced through its use rather than its physical attributes is explored by Marco Cenzatti, who describes heterotopias using Lefebvre's concept of 'spaces of representation'.[47] Cenzatti recognizes how Lefebvre's concept, that accounts for how space is lived and occupied, shares similarities with Foucault's idea of 'spaces of relations' that constitute heterotopias. (Incidentally, although Cenzatti does not discuss monuments or memorials, Lefebvre himself argues that monumentality 'takes in all the aspects of spatiality…the perceived, conceived and the lived; representations of space and representational spaces.)[48] Cenzatti develops his argument by suggesting that heterotopias vanish when the social relations that produced them end.[49] So he writes:

> Heterotopias, as spaces of representation, are produced by the presence of a set of specific social relations and their space. As soon as the social relation and the appropriation of the physical space end, both space of representation and heterotopia disappear.[50]

Cenzatti highlights the multiplicity of groups that produce a multiplicity of public spheres and claims that heterotopias are part of this 'group-specific publicness'.[51] This is in line with Hallam and Hockey's suggestion that *The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior* is a heterotopic site due to 'the multiple memories of parents, fiancés and widows' that can be located at the site.[52] Cenzatti links the principle of heterotopic change and the theorizing on space

that recognizes its capacity 'to change, to vanish and re-form'.[53] Cenzatti wants to use the concept of heterotopia to show 'how fragmented, mobile and changing the production of space is'.[54] This concept is particularly useful in application to contemporary space as 'social subjects keep multiplying and different spaces keep being produced'.[55] Cenzatti is clear that as different groups can occupy the same place at the same time, the 'layering of public spaces' brings 'counter-publics in contact and confrontation with each other'. This 'confrontation of heterotopias' in his view 'forms the basis of cosmopolitanism'.[56]

Although Cenzatti's argument is compelling and can be used in relation to memorial sites it suggests that *any* space used by multiple publics is heterotopic. Such an approach means that nearly all public space could be described as heterotopic which would be so broad a claim as to render the concept meaningless. Also to locate heterotopic meaning solely in the public use of a site ignores the specific qualities of the memorials - their function, aura and materiality. Cenzatti's theory can be developed from the idea that heterotopic spaces are produced by the presence of different groups in one symbolic space, to an understanding of First World War memorials as heterotopic in the way that they evoke another place and time. They conjure up the Somme or Verdun in the familiar locations of our city centres and high streets and evoke the broader spaces of nation and empire. The rituals on special days of remembrance mean that they are marked by 'systems of opening and closing', special gestures are made at these sites.[57] On certain days they are treated as sacred sites. Like the roadside shrines, war

memorials are examples of the continuation of sacred spaces in an otherwise secular landscape. They are a space of stillness within the city. In a space of flux we are invited to pause and reflect. Like the roadside shrines they act as a threshold between the dead and the living and provide a space of communication between them. The hundreds of war memorials in town centres and on high streets evoke mass death in our everyday public spaces. The quotidian environment is in tension with these spaces of death.

Memorials have a 'function in relation to all other space' in several ways.[58] Firstly, they act as a mirror in the way in which they reflect the supposed values and beliefs of our culture and expose the commercial and private nature of the surrounding space. In his discussion of monumentality Lefebvre refers to the mirroring capabilities of the monument that is also of central importance to the study of heterotopology. Lefebvre states

> Monumental space offered each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage. It thus constituted a collective mirror more faithful than any personal one.[59]

The mirror as a function of the heterotopic space can be applied to war memorials in that they project civic ideals about nationalism, citizenship and sacrifice.[60] A well-ordered and beautiful cityscape would represent the values of organized society and encourage certain forms of behaviour. Boyer informed by Foucauldian notions of governance, writes, 'To ensure acts of self governance, citizens were presented with visual models to internalise, remember and apply'.[61] As an example of an attempt at state control through space, Boyer outlines Napoleon III 's plans for the city of Paris. With the help of Baron von Haussmann, Napoleon, envisioned Paris as a kind of outdoor

museum. It was to be a guided tour through monuments that would remind citizens of great historic deeds and national achievements and would encouage feelings of progress and emancipation.[62] Taken together, the landmarks of Paris would form the narrative of France. They perform a mirroring role in that they create a 'space of illusion' that exposes other space as 'still more illusory', or by creating a space as 'perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged' as those around it are 'messy, ill constructed and jumbled'.[63] Foucault links the utopia to the heterotopia by suggesting they share a 'mixed joint experience which would be the mirror'.[64] For Foucault, the mirror is a place where

> I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not.[65]

which seems applicable to the utopic version of our culture that is offered by memorials.

On special days rituals link memorial sites in a web of remembrance. In Newcastle the parades through the city, led by local dignitaries and surviving veterans, make a journey from the Civic Centre to the memorial at Eldon Square and back past the Response memorial at the Haymarket before returning back to the Civic Centre. This is an attempt to perform the narrative mapped by the spaces of memory in the city and ties in with Connerton's notion of performative memory. Movement further establishes the relations among sites that is crucial to Foucault's notion of heterotopia and also crucial to memory narratives.

War memorials are the most widespread of all public monuments and represent the 'biggest communal arts project ever attempted'.[66] Jay Winter maintains that bereavement was universal at the time of the First World War, claiming that it would not be

> an exaggeration to suggest that every family was in mourning: most for a relative – a father, a son, a brother, a husband – others for a friend, a colleague, a lover, a companion.[67]

This experience of mass death produced the greatest period of memorial construction this country has seen, the extent of memorial practice meant that, as Winter says, remembrance became 'part of the landscape'.[68] However, war memorials such as those in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne, are as much indicative of national memory as they are of civic memory and in some respects say little about the specificity of a collective memory of the North East. War memorials do not memorialize the city in the same way as a memorial commemorating the history of coalmining. Rather, they memorialize events that affected the city's inhabitants, which happened off-stage, elsewhere. Nevertheless, the impact of the wars on the civic memorial landscape has been palpable.

There has always been suspicion of monumental forms. The monument has been accused of incorporating elitist, static ideals long forgotten by the majority.[69] Modernism saw the monument as an instrument of those in power assigning a totalizing account of multifaceted events.[70] It has been argued that monuments encourage forgetting, for once erected, the monument's subject can be assumed to have been dealt with and thus laid to rest, with little or no further engagement needed. As James Young claims, 'in effect, the

initial impulse to memorialize events like the Holocaust may actually spring from an opposite and equal desire to forget them.'[71] The postmodern monument or countermonument movement is dedicated to exposing the problems of representation and history and tends to lead to more questions rather than a forced closure. These new forms allow the possibility of an unfinished history, transforming remembrance into an evolving process that resists closure and redemption.[72]

Andreas Huyssen makes a powerful case against the determination to damn monumentalizing as an elitist practice that stultifies memory, but also counters the rejection of recent monumentalizing as incapable of engaging with the past. He claims

> It is simply no longer enough to denounce the museum as an elitist bastion of knowledge and power, nor is an older modernist critique of the monument exactly persuasive when monument artists have incorporated that very critique into their creative practices.[73]

He argues against the pessimism of postmodern critics, who can find no depth of feeling in new memorials, and the desire to continue a modernist critique of the monument. He challenges the assumption that amnesia is a necessary illness of capitalist life. For theorists such as Benjamin and Baudrillard, the memory boom is reduced to proof of the commodification and homogenization of the past. The phenomenon of the counter-monument can form part of the defence against such thinking. However, developing the theory of memorializing can provide a more subtle account of traditional memorials than previous top-down approaches have offered, and the concept of heterotopia can enrich this line of thought.

For Huyssen, what is being fought for is the acceptance of different visual forms, ephemeral, figurative or abstract, capable of representing both public and private interests. His suggestion is that the monument has taken on new meaning for a public that hankers for something real in amongst the many images it is confronted with.[74] This insight, along with Thompson's 'third way' of reading war memorials and an acknowledgement of the heterotopic nature of memorial space, produces a more positive and nuanced account of memorial space.

ii) Regenerating Memory: Old Memories in New Places

The two war memorials in the city centre once occupied what can be referred to as the 'front spaces' of the city. Most war memorials and monuments are situated in the heart of the area, their geographical position announcing and cementing their importance in public life. The construction of statues in the city from 1838 – 1906 also shows the strategic spatialization of memory. The statues of the figures commemorated are located in symbiotic relationship to the institutions of the city, which creates a double-coding and suturing of memory, pinning down the meaning of the area and establishing the role of individuals who have shaped it. The George Stephenson monument (1862) is appropriately situated across from the Railway Station. Queen Victoria's elaborate statue on Mosley Street (1903) was positioned to face both the church and the old town hall to show the allegiance of both institutions. Lord Armstrong's statue (1906) is situated outside the Hancock Museum (currently being transformed into the Great North Museum: Hancock) marking his financial support of the institution. In the same year, a statue of Joseph

Cowan was erected on Westgate Road near to the Tyne Theatre and Opera House that he founded. Although there was a gap in the building of statues during the war period and although fewer are now being erected, there are recently commissioned statues that continue this system of ordering. Cardinal Basil Hume's statue of 2002 is set outside of St Mary's Church and *Wor Jackie*, (1991) by Susanna Robinson, a monument to footballer and ex-miner Jackie Milburn, is situated near St James' Park (although it had formerly been located on Northumberland Street). A memorial to Richard Grainger was placed outside Grainger Market (2002) and contributed to the creation of this area as an historic quarter under the Grainger Town Project that began in the mid-1990s. These memorial works are erected to affirm stories of regional success and celebrate the existence and development of the modern town. They provide a way of staging localness and enable strategies of zoning that lead to the creation of urban districts and a new representational order. Memory and memorializing play a role in the effort to unify and map the city. The World Wars engendered a democratization of monument building so that ordinary people and marginal groups were included. The traditional statues of industrialists, heads of state, and war heroes have now been joined by those of popular heroes such as Jackie Milburn ('Footballer and Gentleman' as the inscription on his plinth reads). The 'people of Grainger Town' are commemorated in the Grainger Memorial. This egalitarian tendency has led to the adoption of more conceptual and abstract forms of memorializing. However, Sharon Zukin has shown that whatever new contemporary forms may emerge, they still set dominant socio-spatial relations 'in stone'.[75]

NewcastleGateshead has undoubtedly become the most symbolic part of Newcastle's landscape partly because of the contemporary art and sculpture positioned there that has transformed it into the new heart of the city. Public art, most broadly defined, usually means art outside of galleries and museums.[76] Since the late 1960s, there has been a significant growth in art found in the public places: the square and business park, schools, hospitals and railways.[77] Situated in diverse settings they have produced a different kind of vocabulary than that of the public art and memorials of the nineteenth century already discussed. This culture-led regeneration has increased in recent years becoming a standard way of coping with destitute, run-down areas. Gateshead Council, in response to the failing post-industrial economy, invested in culture-led regeneration projects to enliven public spaces,[78] a strategy that has now become standard across the UK, parts of Europe and America.[79] The 'Art in Public Places' campaign that Gateshead Council set up in 1986 has commissioned 80 works in 25 years. The 1990 Garden Festival at Gateshead was also key to attracting funding and marketing for further renewal.

Gateshead's major success was *The Angel of the North* that earned the town a national reputation for its groundbreaking work in public art. By delivering a project the size of the *Angel* it acquired the credibility that enabled it to secure funding which financed the conversion of the Baltic Flour Mills into BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art (£46m), enabled it to build The Sage Gateshead (£70m) and construct the Gateshead Millennium Bridge (£22m).[80]

There are divergent accounts of Newcastle upon Tyne Council's own regeneration. Stuart Cameron and Jon Coaffee point out that in the 1980s Newcastle invested in property-led regeneration.[81] This move was spearheaded by the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation and concentrated on the north bank of the Tyne only, therefore excluding the Gateshead side of the river. In this way, they make clear that the successful development of the Quayside was 'entirely the product of the initiative of Gateshead Council'.[82] Paul Usherwood, on the other hand, recognizes the contribution of the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation that had commissioned forty three public sculptures between 1987 and 1998, when it was dissolved which also happened to be the same year the *Angel* was installed.[83] The relationship between Newcastle and Gateshead has historically been marked by Newcastle's dominance. Gateshead was a good place from which to visit and look at Newcastle. The view from the south bank of the Tyne reveals a panorama of Newcastle's important civic structures: Grey's monument, the Civic Centre, St James' Park and the castle from which the city gets its name. However, the 'tourist gaze' is beginning to turn and Newcastle has now become a place from which to view Gateshead and to access what it has to offer.[84] The Millennium Bridge may link the two quaysides but Gateshead Council clearly announce their role in, and ownership of, these new cultural landmarks by working 'Gateshead' into the name of the both the Sage music centre and the Bridge. Aside from the physical link of the bridge, a further attempt to link the two cities culminated in an administrative move with the creation of the NewcastleGateshead Initiative.

The NewcastleGateshead Initiative was established in 2000. Its inception at this time, in the build-up to the bid for the European City of Culture 2008, (which in the end lost out to Liverpool) is an example of how the competitive environment between cities generates change and shapes the city. The Initiative is the publicly and privately funded 'destination marketing agency for NewcastleGateshead' a place that they advertise as a 'mix of the modern and historic'.

> Located in North East England, Newcastle (on the north bank of the River Tyne) and Gateshead (on the south bank) have been transformed into a single visitor destination called NewcastleGateshead.[85]

It claims to have created a 'strong brand' for the area, with an emphasis on its promotion nationally and internationally as a 'leading European destination' and as a 'world-class place to live, learn, work and visit'.[86] It aims to achieve this through 'cultural programming, event bidding and high-profile, targeted destination marketing and PR activity'.[87] The website proudly asserts: 'We've changed the way people think about NewcastleGateshead'.[88] (See Figure 2.5)[89]

The Initiative promotes a 'metropolitan view that transcends individual local authority boundaries and long-standing rivalries'.[90] The invention of NewcastleGateshead is an attempt to reconcile the interests of the two councils in the half-mile stretch of the riverside. Apart from the new cultural objects and institutions already cited, other building there has been less inspiring architecturally, and more directly market-orientated. The Baltic Quay flats, a new Tesco and Hilton Hotel are in stark contrast to the deprived areas

just beyond the slopes of the Quayside in Byker, Walker and Gateshead. The drive to regenerate central Tyneside forces a debate about the relative values of different historical eras in the life of the city, and by implication ranks the social agents most closely associated with them. NewcastleGateshead has produced an enclave that threatens to reduce the city to a map of tourist attractions and re-orders the imaginaries of the city.

Phil Hubbard et al recognize how the 'strategic and theatrical placement of art' is used to establish a particular area of the city in a way that creates a 'new imaginative geography'.[91] In this way they suggest, public art is deeply involved in the 'making of urban order' and in 'imposing an "official" way of seeing on the citizenry'.[92] Much of the work of the new centre of NewcastleGateshead thematizes the past and, more specifically, the industrial past. These individual works have a significance in relation to the ongoing discourse about public art and memory and interest in them has centred on their contribution to wider cultural representations of Northernness. The artistic discourses available in the city construct and contest the collective cultural memory of the local population and it is here that competing stories are communicated.

The *Angel* was the first of a number of new works and its impact cannot be overestimated. The public art page on the Gateshead City Council website shows works divided into the categories 'pre-angel' and 'post-angel', confirming that the arrival of the Angel is viewed as a watershed moment.[93] The attention given to the Angel and to other important sculptures by famous

artists indicates a wider change in discourse about the function of public art and memorializing. The redevelopers, city planners and artists clearly use the late industrial past to articulate their concerns in the present but in a highly ambivalent way. These works have been described as typifying a form of 'critical history' that questions the possibility of remembrance and takes an irreverent approach to history.[94] However, they can create quite abstract forms with warmth and nostalgia. In its attempt to embrace local culture and economies, new public art is careful to use the materials of local industry; it is 'socially responsible', 'site specific' and 'functional'.[95]

Although the *Angel* cannot be described as 'functional', aesthetically the *Angel* incorporates the characteristics outlined above. It is built from locally-sourced corten steel, a material that had been used in shipbuilding on the Tyne. It was produced in a 'socially responsible' way in that the planners were careful to employ local engineers and showed off the skills still present in the region. It is 'site specific'; it stands on a mound near the A1 motorway that was created after the closure of the Lower Tyne Colliery. The mound itself was made out of the destroyed remains of the pithead baths and was re-claimed as a green landscape during the early 1990s.

The Team Colliery had been mining coal from the 1720s until mining ceased on this site in the late 1960s. So it marks the end of the era of coalmining in Britain. Gormley has said that the mound was the reason he accepted the project, and that he had previously been against what he calls 'motorway art'.[96] The location of the *Angel* reminds us that here, below this site, men had

laboured in coalmines for two hundred years. Its construction is an attempt to take hold of the future and articulate the shift from an industrial to an information age. For Gormley, it bears witness to, and celebrates the industrial era of the region. In this way, he claims it 'resists our post-industrial amnesia'.[97] But he has also said that it is a 'celebration of what we can do, what we can do right now, not just about what we could do'.[98] Gormley's claims regarding the symbolism of the *Angel* express the goals of much contemporary artwork that memorializes an industrial past: they evoke the past to define the present. The Gateshead Riverside Sculpture Park includes a number of works by world-renowned artists that employ similar themes and execution including: *Windy Nook* by Richard Cole (1986); *Cone* by Andy Goldsworthy (1992, Figure 2.3); *Acceleration* by John Creed (2005) and *Rise and Fall* by Lulu Quinn (2007, Figure 2.6). Sally Matthews *Goats* (2005, Figure 2.4).

Artist Lulu Quinn said: 'Rise and Fall stands as a monument to the boom and bust of industrial history that defined Gateshead's character'.[99] It is designed as a reminder of local industrial heritage and of the achievements in engineering and architecture along the River Tyne. Similarly, John Creed's work, *Acceleration*, has been interpreted as the wheels of a train thereby evoking the industrial history of Gateshead, with particular reference to the former railway engineering works. But the repeat ring motif has also been interpreted as 'acknowledging the past but heading into the future'.[100]

Figure 2.3 Andy Goldsworthy, *Cone*

Figure 2.4 Sally Matthews *Goats*

Figure 2.5 NewcastleGateshead Initiative Logo

Figure 2.6 Lulu Quinn, *Rise and Fall*

Figure 2.7 Richard Deacon, *Once Upon a Time*

Andy Goldworthy's *Cone*, like the Angel, uses locally sourced materials and is site specific; made out of scrap steel, it is located on an old foundry. Goldsworthy has said it 'draws strength and meaning from the nature of steel, city and a site that is now grown over and wooded, where not so long ago people lived and worked'.[101] Richard Deacon's sculpture *Once upon a Time…*(figure 2.7 1991) at the former Redheugh Bridge at Dunston, Gateshead, marks the site where a bridge once spanned the river. It can be seen as both a celebration of bridge engineering and as representing the 'demise of heavy industry in the region'.[102] However, it is not straightforwardly or merely celebratory. The title, while nostalgic, is also critical. It invites the visitor to complete the sentence and evokes a sense of something lost. The sculpture highlights the transformation of an area that was once an industrial hub, a working dock that has been greened over to make a sculpture park.[103]

The *Angel* and the works of the Riverside Sculpture Park deal self-consciously with issues of memory and representation. Richard Deacon's *Once upon a Time…* shows an awareness of the impossibility of representing the past. The sculpture works with notions of voids, silences and gaps rather than making any positive, alternative statement. Sally Matthews's *Goats* (see figure) is another work located in the Gateshead Riverside Sculpture Park that symbolizes reclamation and pays tribute to the region's industry by utilizing industrial scrap. While these works, as Usherwood et al suggest, reflect the shift to a service economy from an industrial age by highlighting its polluting and oppressive effects, they still celebrate the industrial past.[104] The

manufacturing and mining of the North East is now a thing of the past. Nevertheless the memorial art reflects a continued dependence on its narratives. By conjuring up the landscapes of the past of mining and shipbuilding, the work creates a new landscape invested with a new level of meaning as a distinctive and progressive cultural place, known for a more modern achievement – the successful integration of public sculpture into its landscape.

Cultural regeneration has played a significant part in the creation of the city as a 'dreamscape', or 'collective fantasy… for visual consumption'.[105] It is has been suggested that new landscapes create 'significant problems for people's identity that has historically been founded on place'.[106] The commodification of cultural memory by city planners, heritage industries and artists has rightfully become a point of contention as the marginalization of particular areas of cultural memory seems to be a necessary aspect of the process of place promotion. Kevin Robins suggests that in the North East, the battle for memory can be illustrated by the treatment of the figure of Andy Capp.[107] Claiming that the region 'no longer has a place for Andy or other cloth-capped local heroes like the late Tyneside comedian Bobby Thompson', the place promotion of the city has tried to 'play down the heritage of the region's old industrial, and later de-industrialized past'.[108] However, he recognizes that elsewhere in the region, heritage industries champion these local figures so that there is a tension between the different treatments of the past that simultaneously celebrate and devalue tradition and heritage. Robins claims then, that there is 'an extreme ambivalence about the past'.[109] There is a

desire to be rid of the industrial past and yet it can provide economic and social opportunities. He ends by saying that at 'the heart of the contemporary British culture is the problem of articulating national past and global future'.[110]

As Robins is able to find examples in Catherine Cookson Country and Beamish that challenge works that marginalize local history, so too can a distinctly different public memorial art be found in the city. The moral seriousness of *The Angel* and *Once Upon a Time…*is in contrast with Dick Ward and Bob Olley's work. The antithesis of the abstract and knowing style of Gormley's and Deacon's work can be found in Dick Ward and Bob Olley whose aesthetic more closely resembles the style of the successful and locally-produced comic book *The Viz*.

Dick Ward's 30-metre long mural was commissioned to 'brighten up' the corridor between wards and the main entrance in the new wing of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital. *The History of Gateshead* is a wide-screen epic, a colourful panorama of a cast of over 500 figures that took six months to paint. Beginning in medieval times, the tableau depicts a succession of key events and personalities of the region including the thirteenth century storming of St Mary's Church, Elizabethan mining, the Plague, and the industrial expansion in Victorian times. The twentieth century sections include the Garden Festival, the Metro Centre and the hospital's position in today's society.

Figure 2.8 *History of Gateshead* (above left)

Figure 2.9 *History of Gateshead* (above right)

Figure 2.10 *History of Gateshead* (above left)

Figure 2.11 *History of Gateshead* (above right)

Born in Gateshead, Dick Ward is a local artist whose interpretation of the area's history is described as 'affectionate and exuberant, rather than scholarly or pretentious'.[111] Filled with familiar themes, recognizable personalities and local detail, the mural offers a popular and political view of Newcastle's past. His second piece, *The Blaydon Races*, is another large-scale painting located in the precinct of Blaydon Shopping Centre. This work depicts the characters from the popular song "The Blaydon Races" by Geordie Ridley following the verses of the song from the start at Balmbra's music hall in Newcastle, along Scotswood Road, to the arrival at the Blaydon Races. Popular characters such as Jackie Broon, Coffy Johnny and Geordie Ridley feature in the painting.

Similarly Bob Olley's *Famous Faces* (1996) is a mural of some of the area's most well-known figures travelling in a Metro carriage. It was commissioned by Nexus (the company who control Metro). Among the portraits are Cardinal Basil Hume, Robson Greene, Brendan Foster, Jimmy Nail, Rowan Atkinson, Tim Healy, Catherine Cookson, Sting, television presenter Mike Neville, footballers Bobby and Jackie Charlton, Paul Gascoigne, Peter Beardsley, and Alan Shearer. It is a celebration of the achievements of the sons and daughters of the region.

Figure 2.12 *Famous Faces*

Figure 2.13 *Famous Faces*

Sculpture, as opposed to paintings, has been the artistic medium that has dominated the new culture-led regeneration. However, it is not simply the artistic medium that sets Gormley and Deacon apart from Olley and Ward. In the latter works the style is comic and the figures are caricatures rather than portraits. However, they fit with another tradition of representation. Jonathan Raban, citing the work of Gillary, Hogarth, Rowlandson and Cruikshank, in which the people of the city are physically and morally exaggerated, claims that the 'great urban visual art is the cartoon'.[112] In the visual style of these artists and the literary work of Charles Dickens' people are characterized as 'very thin or very fat, giants or dwarfs, excessively angelic or excessively corrupted'.[113] We read these stereotypes and their physicality as signs. Raban argues that moralizing around the city and its population is an essential way of making sense of diverse forms of life so that it has become an 'essential habit of the mind' to deal with the 'sheer imaginative cumbersomeness of the city'.[114]

> In a world of crowds and strangers…a world, which is simply too big to be held at one time in one's imagination – synecdoche is much more than a rhetorical figure, it is a means of survival.[115]

Olley and Ward represent the local people (albeit affectionately) as Dickensian grotesques. The figures include caricature miners, shipbuilders, musicians, drunks, washerwomen, tyrant landlords, police, the poor, soldiers, nurses, glass blowers, immigrants and animals (see figures 2.8 - 2.11). Even the famous of the region are presented as excessive in their 'ordinariness'. Against type, Catherine Cookson is dressed in a flat cap and Newcastle United shirt and others are pictured with the stuff of everyday life: a bottle of brown ale, a book on fly-fishing and a television guide.

In contrast, the works of the tourist area of NewcastleGateshead are characterized by the dominance of modernist tendencies and the anti-monument style. The differences between the memory sculptures located in 'front spaces' of NewcastleGateshead and the paintings in the 'backspaces' of local hospitals and train stations can be characterized in terms of concepts of high and low art. Distinctions between high and low art are debated in other areas of memorial culture. A division is often made between the (low) culture of traditional yet conventional memorializing of the World Wars and the (high) abstract modernist art that was developed in the countermonument movement.[116] This difference is re-enacted in contemporary civic remembrance. High art is equated with modernism and figural representation is equated with the populism.[117] There are significantly no human beings figured in the high art of NewcastleGateshead. The works of Olley and Ward, on the other hand, focus on the people of the region in a direct, if caricatured, way. They do not, like the art of Gormley and Deacon, represent in abstract form the social issues that affect 'the people'.

Furthermore, the relation between past and present in Deacon and Gormley's works is predominantly one of disruption and fragmentation. They can be interpreted as being proud and affectionate about the industrial age, but they suggest that a complete break with the past has occurred. They emphasize the division of the city from an unwelcome past. Their stories are marked more by discontinuity than by continuity. While Ward's tableau, in particular, stretches from the past into the present in a way that unproblematically keeps

the essential characteristics of the region (white, male, working class, hard-working, jovial) intact and unchallenged.

One might argue then that the 'low art' of 'the people' is relegated to the more marginal spaces of the city. However, the location of Bob Olley's painting at Monument Metro Station offers a unique public space addressing a large and diverse, but mainly local public. The role of art on public transport is acknowledged to be a social 'good', accessible to the general public.[118] It can play a role in campaigns against graffiti and crime; it is often included in a general refurbishment including better lighting, CCTV and safe waiting areas. Olley's *Famous Faces* displayed at Monument Metro encourages a sense of community ownership of the station through depictions of local history and local symbols. Dick Ward's *The History of Gateshead* is located in the Queen Elizabeth Hospital and contributes to a therapeutic environment for patients, visitors and staff.

These paintings are situated in places that the inhabitants of the city travel through daily, rather than those areas of the city visited by tourists. The mode in which the city is viewed has become a matter of controversy. John Urry has noted a shift in urban experience that leads him to question the theoretical dominance of the figure of the flâneur. He asks:

> Is it really sensible to consider as Berman does, that it is pedestrian strollers (flâneurs) who can be taken as emblematic of the modern world? It is surely rather, train-passengers, car drivers and jet plane passengers who are the heroes of the modern world.[119]

Famous Faces is seen on the local Metro system while the *Angel of the North* is viewed by 90,000 people a day, by motorists on the A1 and by train

passengers on the East coast mainline between Edinburgh and London.[120] They cater to different publics in different situations. The voyeurism of the tourist, the distracted gaze of the commuter, the leisured observation of the flâneur are different viewing modes that characterize the diverse ways in which cities can be accessed.

The memorial high art of NewcastleGateshead can be read as evidence of displacement, and the marginalization of local artists such as Ward and Olley, can be taken as the ultimate triumph of the touristic packaged city. This position is exemplified by Peter Halley's approach. He has serious concerns about the role of art in city regeneration, and laments its effect on artistic practice. He sees 'simulated art' as symptomatic of the 'conservative' postmodern geographies in which we currently live:

> This is the end of art "as we know it". It is the end of art history. It is the end of urban art with its dialectical struggles. Today this simulated art takes place in cities that are also doubles of themselves, cities that only exist as nostalgic references to the idea of the city and to the ideas of communication and social intercourse. These simulated cities are places around the globe more or less exactly where the old cities were, but they no longer fulfill the function of old cities. They are no longer centers; they only serve to simulate the phenomenon of the center. And within these simulated centers, usually exactly at their very heart, is where this simulated art activity takes place, an activity itself nostalgic of the reality of activity in art.[121]

Presumably he would view NewcastleGateshead as a 'simulated' centre. Boyer takes an equally negative approach, believing that the nostalgic drive of our cities has 'tilted the scale towards a contemporary form of memory crisis' in which the city of spectacle reigns supreme.[122] So that,

> Consequently the continuum of traditional experience and remembrance embedded in spatial forms once thought to be the ordering structure of the city and the generating device for memory was impoverished beyond all recognition.[123]

According to Boyer, the challenges to a totalizing collective space has led to the collapse of the public sphere as a centre of control and meaning and is assumed to have led only to the dominance of the private sphere in developing and controlling space. So, for Boyer, the failure of memory in the city is total.

> By now, traditions have been so thoroughly "invented" or homogenized, and "history" so absolutely marketed or commodified, misrepresented, or rendered invisible, that any oppositional potential rooted in collective memory has been eclipsed completely.[124]

Elsewhere she argues that 'city after city' follows the same path of rediscovery.[125] Realising its 'abandoned industrial waterfront' might have economic benefits, each city 'refurnishes it as a leisure-time spectacle and sightseeing promenades'.[126] By 'stockpiling' the city's past she suggests that

> [these] tableaux are the true nonplaces, hollowed out urban remnants, without connection to the rest of the city or the past, waiting to be filled with contemporary fantasies, colonized by wishful projections and turned into spectacles of consumption.[127]

These arguments have been overstated and the claims of placelessness, and the perceived rise of homogeneity and the non-place have been exaggerated.[128] If focus remains limited to the digital images and illustrated postcards of NewcastleGateshead, these arguments can be persuasive and the notion of the area of as constitutive of a 'society of spectacle' presents itself as a powerful argument.[129] However, the past will always exert 'itself as a discursive excess',[130] not only in the subjective flaneurism described by Baudelaire and Benjamin[131] but also at official sites of memory and the relation between them.

The subjective engagement with the city can produced manifold memories in unlikely places that have not been specifically set aside or designed with remembrance in mind. However, an argument against Boyer's position can be derived from the purposively built sites of memory in both poorer and richer areas of the city where cultural memory resides. Rosalyn Deutsche has said that regeneration 'neutralizes the political character of both art and the city'.[132] But the diverse artwork that memorializes the city exhibits both simplified and more critical narratives about the past, some of which raise questions about the possibility of remembrance.

It is not true that all places are the same or that citizens are always alienated in these new environments Boyer's theoretical fundamentalism ignores the complex negotiations that take place over public art, memory and space, of which the commission of the Angel, with its initial controversy and eventual overwhelming local acceptance, is an example. There was strong opposition to the Angel: 4,500 local residents signed the 'Stop the Statue Campaign' petition; letters in the local press and questions in council meetings debated the financial costs and benefits; a phone-in (organized by a local newspaper) polled 1,200 against the sculpture and only 250 for.[133] There were many reasons given against the construction of the Angel: the money involved which, it was felt, felt could be better spent benefitting the local communities; the distraction of motorists on the A1; a supposed similarity with the Albert Speer statue *Icarus*. Sid Henderson, a Labour MP successfully fought for the sculpture against the leader of Liberal Democrats, Kathy King. After a well-received local exhibit of Gormley's 'Field', popular opinion began to shift. The

popular appeal that the *Angel* now enjoys has been shown in a high profile instance of public appropriation of the work. Local football fans dressed the *Angel* in a Newcastle United football shirt emblazoned with Alan Shearer's name and number. The fans used a combination of fishing line, rubber balls and catapults wielded by around 25 people to get the shirt on the *Angel*. They paid £100 pounds each for the £1,000 shirt and as one fan said, 'About 25 of us with kids and wives came along at 6am one Sunday morning and just put it up'.[134] Gormely described it as a 'gesture of acceptance' and suggested that it represented a 'real cultural shift'.[135] This points towards the way in which it is possible for identity and notions of place and memory to be constructed by locals from the images produced primarily for tourism.

The apparent success of NewcastleGateshead's regeneration is in part due to the residents' sense of ownership over the quayside area and over the *Angel* in particular. Both the *Angel* and the *BALTIC* have been draped in the Newcastle United colours in a gesture of acceptance. This goes some way to countering the assumption that globalization (including outside funding and the commissioning of international artists) is imposed upon the local. Here, the local has reconfigured the global.

Locals residents have always felt a sense of belonging in relation to the Tyne. The words of the Lindisfarne song, sung by Paul Gascoigne, the 'fog on the Tyne's all mine, all mine' expressed this sense of pride long before cultural regeneration came to the area. But one of the key achievements of the regeneration has been it's capacity to help 'cities to reconnect with the water's

edge'.[136] 'NewcastleGateshead' may not be a name that will ever cross over into everyday use. It is perhaps an effective symbol only for the Councils involved. However, there has been a change in attitude throughout the local population.

Kevin Keegan, the lionized football hero, provided an interesting example of the failure to recognize the reality of this change. He misjudged the mood when he said, on returning to Newcastle United after ten years, 'The match for them is a bit like people down south going to the theatre. They want to be entertained.'[137] Keegan's statement was out of touch with the new place-myths of NewcastleGateshead. It assumed the old division between North and South that the Council has tried hard to close. Local residents have predominantly been supportive of the regeneration schemes and are proud of the changes, aware as they are about the way the region is viewed elsewhere.[138]

It must also be recognized that there is room for alternative forms of remembrance in the city. Interest groups work independently to produce their own spaces of memory and identity in order to enrich and connect with the spaces of their everyday lives. Different understandings and interests in the past generate specific memorial works and influence individual and social experiences of the present and the future. A curious example of the impact that a small interest group can have on a public space can be found in the Royal Victory Infirmary in Newcastle. A local philosophical society negotiated with the hospital management to have a plaque displayed that commemorates

the time that the philosopher, Ludwig Wittgenstein, spent working at the hospital as a porter during the war (see figure below).

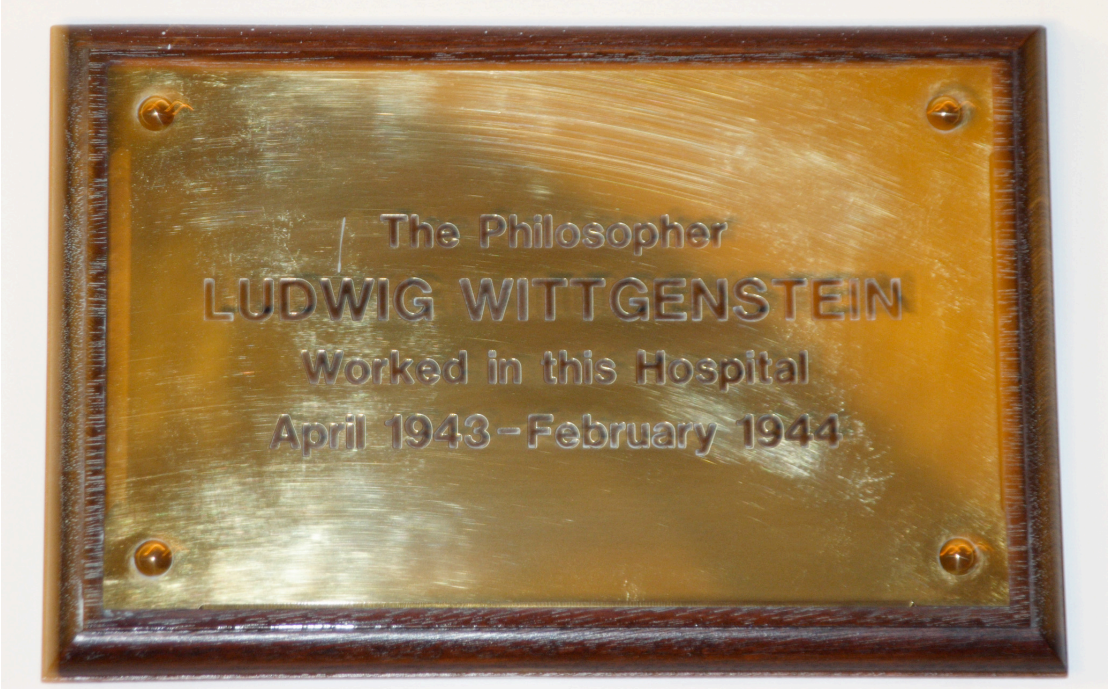

Figure 2.14 Plaque to Ludwig Wittgenstein, Royal Victoria Hospital

By considering a broad range of spaces, approaches that assume the end of memory in the city can be challenged. The memorial works discussed may never coalesce into a coherent view, but every culture needs to generate spaces that stimulate the imagination and create an archive of images. The memory of the city includes humble, obscure monuments, commemorative statues, dilapidated buildings and closed shop fronts. It is, of course, important to recognize the powerful class interests that colonize and commodify space. However, the city is now understood as a series of overlapping sites in which notions of memory and place are continually produced and reproduced. If regeneration is done well it can make meaningful

links to the region's history and create a dialogue with other memory spaces even if they exist in fairly segregated commemorative topographies.

Public art has always come with the promise and hope of democratic ideals.[139] This approach recognizes the role of art in shaping the built environment and creating new spaces. Artists often deny that public art is mere decoration because they do not merely place objects in urban spaces. They see themselves as changing the nature of spaces through the placement of art objects.[140] Art works produce different sorts of spaces. They celebrate both continuity and discontinuity with the past. They establish a symbolic ordering of the world. Despite the obvious differences between the Angel and the work of Olley and Ward, they both change the nature of the space they occupy. They are all located in places of transition: the city you are passing through, the station, the hospital. They do not attempt to make you feel at home: you are a person going about your business, a traveller, a sightseer; you are being treated or visiting those who are ill, a person in transit through a world with a past that is your past. They combat the impersonality and the claustrophobia of public or semi-public places by turning the city, station or hospital corridor not into a homely, but into a heterotopic space.

iii) Thresholds and Mirrors

Dehaene has suggested that because of its special nature, heterotopia is the opposite of Augé's notion of the non-place.[141] He argues that heterotopias are 'places to be' in Castell's 'urban flows'; they contribute to a strategy to 'reclaim places of otherness on the inside of an economized 'public' life'.[142] These

claims can be applied to the memorial spaces of the city in order to contribute to the notion of heterotopias of memory.

One of the principles of heterotopology that Foucault outlines is the capacity of certain spaces to juxtapose in one real space several incompatible spaces. It can be argued that all public art transforms public space into sites with a multiplicity of meanings. They change once 'meaningless' sites by making them meaningful. For example, the paintings in hospitals and Metro stations turn functional spaces into spaces of art consumption. However, in order to establish a critical understanding of heterotopias, and understand how memorial public art specifically can constitute heterotopic space, it is necessary to go beyond this argument.

Firstly, the notion of heterotopias as places of illusion can also be linked to Foucault's discussion of the mirror as heterotopic object. The mirror, which plays a central role in Foucault's description of heterotopia, is often used as a metaphor for art. By reflecting civic ideals and identities, public art acts as a mirror by providing the city with images of itself, its past and future. Public art provides spaces of illusion and in doing so exposes the notion of the city, as a unified entity with a stable representable identity, as even more illusory. The 'double logic' of the heterotopic mirror, as described by Boyer can be used as a way of reading the multiple functions of memorial public art.

Boyer elaborates on the idea of the 'double logic' of heterotopias arguing

> that by their very imaginations and illusions heterotopias sustain the normality of everyday space and yet they negate these illusions, replacing them with other imaginary, but more static places.[143]

This contributes to a way of thinking about memorial public art as encapsulating a series of double-logics or ways of thinking different spaces together. Foucault's emphasis on the relation among sites is key to the notion of heterotopias of memory as sites of mirroring that create a 'space of illusion' that exposes other space as 'still more illusory'.[144] By creating a space as 'perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged' as those around it are 'messy, ill constructed and jumbled'[145] they expose the work involved in representation and memorializing. The creation of 'perfect' sites in the attempt to manage space meaningfully signals the perceived threat of 'messy' spaces that surround and impinge on them. Speaking about the industrial gallery spaces where the other is 'temporarily experienced', Richard Williams reiterates Foucault's point that heterotopias can be compensatory, so they are a '"compensation" for society's failings; a perfect space that exists in relation to imperfection elsewhere'.[146] They create a critical dialogue with the space around them. As Williams has suggested of industrial gallery spaces, the 'job' of the heterotopia 'is to perform marginality' and in this way he suggests the heterotopia has 'immense romantic appeal'.[147] Boyer echoes this point concerning the role of heterotopias by suggesting that the 'doublings of the mirror image' are 'compensatory 'other' spaces and contesting counter-sites; they are both real and illusory'.[148]

The site of the *Angel* performs a kind of doubling in a number of ways. It was a dead zone. The old mine was there, but underground and unseen; the

Angel made its absence present. The *Angel* both is, and isn't, the place where meaning is generated. Its meaning is as much derived from what is invisible and absent beneath it, as it is from the visible structure. It divines this other place beneath. In this way it has been read both positively, as a symbol of new cultural growth from a greenfield site, and negatively, as representing the covering up or smothering of the past. This multiplicity engenders another doubling - it encourages both remembrance and forgetting. It evokes the past and then obliterates it.

The double logic that Boyer insists can be found in Foucault's notes on heterotopias has a temporal as well as spatial effect. So that

> spaces of normalization coexist alongside different modes of existence, different temporalities and spatialities that constitute counter-discourse and other spaces.[149]

Spaces of memory, like heterotopias, are always linked to different 'slices of time'.[150] They not only conjure up the time they commemorate but they also articulate the memorial moment in which they were needed, conceived and erected. They also link to 'slices of time' in the way in which they create moments or pauses outside the clock-time of the city. The flow of time operates differently here. The rush of urban life slows; the tempo of personal experience which these works of art evoke contrasts with the energetic activity which surrounds them.

As spaces set apart, public memorial artworks behave as thresholds and are subject to systems 'opening and closing' (the fourth principle).[151] NewcastleGateshead's publicity literature speaks directly about its public art

works as thresholds or gateways that 'provide a sense of arrival to a place that is beyond expectation'.[152] They are used as signposts to signal to the visitor that they have arrived.

> [They]'announced' gateways or defined entrances to a space with a different character. They can signify expectation and offer a sense of arrival.[153]

The *Angel* is considered as a 'gateway' to the North'. Lulu Quinn's sculpture, a key work of the Riverside Sculpture Park, is even entitled 'Threshold'. This emphasis, provided by both the artists' individual works and the Council's approach to artwork in the area, highlights the importance of relations among different spaces. They imply a journey though space and it is in walking the sculpture trail that these 'punctuation features' create 'processional routes and gateways'.[154] This achieves the goal of the Council's plan by 'making connections to other locations' and creating a 'sense of progression between space; a sense of flow and continuity'.[155] In encouraging visitors to spend longer in the area, the Council is drawing on the heterotopic nature of memory sites.

The relation between sites effectively redraws the centres and peripheries not just of local geography, but also of national geography. The *Angel* has done this by reaching out to national space. It has been crucial to the re-imagining of the city in a bid for a European and International ranking and so is implicated in a wider cultural space. It now has a relation to national space as well as other smaller regional spaces. The BBC balloon idents featured the *Angel* in 1998 marking its ascendance as the most well-known public

sculpture in the country and has given the North East a place in the national consciousness.

The order that these spaces create out of the chaos that surrounds them shows how art has helped city dwellers and tourists create conceptual models and to negotiate, and act in, the city. Memorial public art, working as a mirror or an illusion, represents the city as a microcosm within the city. Heterotopias have been described as sites of extremity that

> displace the metrics of everyday life with metrics more vast, more macrocosmic, or more minute, more microcosmic…Heterotopias are extreme – in their exaggerations of scale, but also in their reductions, their miniaturisations and diminutions[156]

Heterotopias of memory involve an exaggeration of scale. These mirroring places are also 'places of extremes' - of giant angels and cartoon caricatures. These ideal, ordered spaces are highly desired in the city. Gateshead Council acknowledges this role by claiming that their artworks 'improve' and 'increase' the 'legibility' of the area.[157] This function is increasingly important given Jameson's notion that what is unmappable cannot be critically transformed.[158] Jameson, drawing on Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City,* states:

> the alienated city is above all a space in which people are unable to map (in their minds) either their own position or the urban totality in which they find themselves.[159]

The diverse and sometimes contradictory forms of memorializing manifest different types of order that all offer ways to navigate urban space. For Hubbard, public art, as part of the production of images and representations, is designed to make the city legible to its occupants and can emphasize 'new ways of urban life and new codes of conduct' through 'readily identifiable civic mythologies' and 'recognizable iconography'.[160]

The heterotopic model of memory spaces may allow for a more positive and critical analysis of these new spaces of memory by stressing the relation between sites that encourages a reflective movement between places rather than the disintegration and segregation of sites of memory. The claim that heterotopia has an important theoretical role to play in analyzing the power of memorializing hangs on the capacity of the concept to accommodate both the fragmentation of urban experience and the need to maintain coherence and unity.

iv) The Angel of History

> If modernity was about the transient and the ephemeral, about speed, mobility and the abandonment of tradition, what place could there be for static objects that froze moments of the past for perpetuity?[161]

Using the concept of heterotopia to show how memorials and works of public art change function, and meaning, over time and how they are in dialogue with different levels of space around them, makes it impossible to think of them as merely 'static objects' that freeze space and time. As a tool for reading memorials and public art, the notion of heterotopia allows an understanding of the ways in which memorial public art is as changeable as its surroundings. The rise of site-specific art since the 1960s has meant that the relations between sites are as central to the meaning of these works as aesthetic criteria.

The *Angel* has been embraced by local residents and it has also gained a place in national imagination because of its perceived relationship to the

Northern past and future, which in turn relate to the pasts and futures of other regions. It is understood to symbolize the re-appropriation of industrial spaces. The *Angel* is an example of the branding of Northernness that some see as populist sentimentalism which undermines its radical possibilities as popular public art, but which others read as mute defiance in the face of post-industrial urban gentrification.

Brian Sewell has been one of the *Angel's* most outspoken critics and enjoys extending his censure to the whole of the region,

> I think [The Angel of the North] is probably the emptiest, most inflated, most vulgar of [Antony Gormley's] works… Gateshead is a self-inflicted wound. Bomb it, then you will change it. It is an awful place… most of the North is awful.[162]

The *Angel's* creator, Antony Gormley, takes a positive view of the North and has described his privileged London childhood as stifling. The Hampstead Garden Suburb in which he grew up was

> a horribly good example of atopy. A kind of non-place, that tries very hard to have a character by using a kind of mock vernacular rural architecture and privet hedges to create a sense of Englishness, but in fact it's complete ersatz. So I really grew up between a golf course and a privet hedge. It was awful.[163]

Gormley "came north" when he was 11 years old and it was then he felt differently about the landscape surrounding him. "I thought 'Ah, this is what the world's really like'.[164] Of the *Angel* Gormley says:

> I feel humbled…by the fact that actually the Angel has been so owned, so identified with, so possessed by the people here. I love it here, from the bridge to the river, Tynemouth, the coast, Hadrian's Wall. George Melly when he gave me the South Bank Prize, said he saw in the Angel not a Christian thing, but a reversing Thor's hammer, the Viking part of the northeast. I think that's absolutely right. I think there's a feeling up here of being connected with further north.[165]

The statements made by Gormley and Sewell reveal the tensions embodied in ideas about the North and Northernness and both play on the continuing notion of the North-South divide. The North is “an awful place”, “a wound’, or it is a kind of Nordic place, with a deep past built into the landscape, which showed the artist as a young man “what the world was really like” away from the “non-place” of a Hampstead suburb.

When a city attempts to reinvent its identity and rebrand its global image, history as public art becomes a crucial site of struggle. Entering the new economic phase of the credit crunch the local councils of Gateshead and Newcastle are unlikely to benefit from an influx of funding on the scale that the region received in the last decade. The overall landscape will be fixed for some time, and the 1990s and 2000s will come to be seen as a defining stage of development, hopefully not one that will become as unpopular in the future as the ‘regeneration’ instigated by T. Dan Smith and Poulson in the 1960s.

It is a period that has seen Gateshead’s growing importance and Newcastle’s proportionate dependence on its neighbour. Newcastle has still retained its position above Gateshead in terms of retail and commercial success despite development beyond its traditional areas. However, the original shape of the city has changed. Once the market quarters were the site of leisure and the quayside was a centre for work; now, the policies of Gateshead Council have altered the orientation of the city.

The dialogue Newcastle has with its past through these new artistic forms is complex. The capacity for these innovations really to change the economic prospects of the region, and people's attitudes towards it are a matter of dispute. Brian Sewell has questioned the ability of the region to contribute to contemporary art culture. By dismissing a recent exhibition at the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art he challenges the optimistic ideal of NewcastleGateshead as a centre for culture. He complained

> It's absurd to arrange a major exhibition of fundamental importance to the understanding of what happened to art in the second half of the 20th century and deprive London of an immediate view.[166]

In a slick promotional move, the gallery used the slogan the 'exhibition that's too good for the North' as part of the advertising campaign, revealing the investment they believe people put in place myths. It will work because the northern attitude is proud enough to recognize such as slight and take it as a confrontation. John Grundy, a local TV presenter and author, with a particular interest in local history and architecture, responded to Sewell's remarks by expounding what his attitude reveals. 'Firstly,' he says,

> it's good to see ourselves as other people see us - as curious remote people who live a long way from the centre. Secondly, it always does you good to have someone you can really hate.[167]

He goes on to make a more serious claim that

> to stand at the door of the Baltic is to be confronted by two other truths - that the North East is changing at such a fantastic rate and that some, at least, of those changes are of the highest possible quality.[168]

The North East's emerging identity and its relationship with the past is embodied in public art works and memorials. It is important particularly in a period of rapid change, to track the continuing dialogue between place and memory articulated in memorial public art. These 'theatres of memory' have

the power to promote debate about the future of the city and the way in which it is still inextricably bound to the city of the past. The signifying power of such icons lies in their capacity to 're-narrate an already well-known story'.[169]

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[1] Hetherington, p. 18.
[2] Foucault, 2002a, p. 235.
[3] ibid, p. 234.
[4] The link between shifts in types of society and the form and content of memory offer temporal and spatial accounts of memory's vicissitudes. The transition from Marx's feudal to capitalist modes of production, Tonnies' *gemeinschaft* community to *gesselschaft* society and Nora's *milieu de mémoire* to *lieux de mémoire* show how theorists have believed a shift has occurred. Accounts such as Nora's often attribute the collapse of an idealized 'real' memory to the shift from a rural to an urban society. See Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology*, ed, Christopher John Arthur (New York: International Publishers, 1970); Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire', Representations 26,* Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, Spring*,* 1989, pp. 7-24; Ferdinand Tönnies, trans. by Charles P. Loomis, *Community and Society: Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* (London: Harper and Row Publishers, 1963), particularly pp. 33-35.
[5] Both Tony Bennett and Esther Leslie draw on the notion of the palimpsest in their chapters in *Regimes of Memory,* eds, Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin (Routledge, 2003). Leslie links the palimpsest to both Freud's 'mystical writing pad' and Benjamin's investment in material traces. See Tony Bennett, 'Stored Virtue: Memory, the Body and the Evolutionary Museum' in *Regimes of Memory,* eds, Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 40 - 53 and Esther Leslie, 'Absent-Minded Professors: Etch-a-Sketching Acadmic Forgetting' in *Regimes of Memory,* eds, Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 172-185. Also see Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 7 and particularly Chapter 4, 'After the War: Berlin as Palimpsest'; Richard Terdiman discusses Baudelaire's reflections on the palimpsest in *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 109.
[6] See the following texts for this topic: Jennifer A. Jordan, *Structures of Memory: Understanding Urban Change in Berlin and Beyond* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Karen E. Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth* Century (Chapel Hill and London*:* University of North California Press, 1998).
[7] There has, however been the double thought that Berlin is marked by both forgetting and remembrance, first expressed by Benjamin and then echoed by Huyssen. Benjamin claimed that, although the city is a place of forgetting, for 'the true physiognomist it may come to form a mnemonic device' in Gilloch, 1996, p. 173. And Huyssen writes that Berlin 'as palimpsest implies voids, illegibilities and erasures, but it also offers a richness of traces and memories, restorations and new constructions that will mark the city as lived space', in Huyssen, 2003, p. 84.
[8] Key literature on Los Angeles that deal with architectural form and memory include: Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford and Malden, MA.: Blackwell, 1996); Edward Soja's *Postmodern Geographies* (London, New York: Verso, 1989), see also *Los Angeles: Geographical Essays*, ed. by Allen Scott, Edward Soja and R. Weinstein (Los Angeles and Berkley: University of California Press, 1994); Jean Baudrillard, *America*, trans. by Chris Turner (London: Verso, 1988); Frederic Jameson's *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
[9] David Parker and Paul Long, 'Reimagining Birmingham: Public History, Selective Memory and the Narration of Urban Change', *European Journal of Cultural Studies,* 6, 2003, pp. 157-178. p. 158.

[10] ibid, p. 158.
[11] The unexpected and unlikely success of Antony Gormley's *The Angel of the North* is frequently cited as particularly illustrative case study of regeneration that can usefully introduce discussions of key issues applicable to other cities. Emma Barker uses the issues that surrounded the *Angel* in terms of regionalism, and the function and accessibility of modern art to discuss the expansion of the Tate gallery from London to Liverpool and St Ives. See Emma Barker 'Art in the Wider Culture: Introduction' in *Contemporary Cultures of Display* ed, Emma Barker (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 175-177. On the *Angel's* 10 birthday in 2008, Gateshead Council Chief Executive Roger Kelly said: 'The Angel of the North has become the byword for culturally inspired regeneration and Gateshead really has led the way in the field.' Gateshead Council, 'Gateshead flexes wings with the Angel Symposium' http://www.gateshead.gov.uk/council%20and%20democracy/news/news%20articles/gateshead%20flexs%20wings%20with%20the%20angel%20symposium%20.aspx. [Accessed 20 March 2008].
[12] Rob Shields uses the terms 'place-images' to describe associations, which when taken together make up 'place-myths'. These are the multiple meanings and values connected with places or regions. Place-myths work as a 'currency' that circulates in a 'discursive economy'. Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 60-61.
[13] There is a wealth of literature on this subject, key works include: Sharon Zukin, *The Cultural Economy of Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions*: *Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1996); John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London and New York: Routledge 1995); Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976); Michael Sorkin, *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Noonday Press, 1992); M. Christine Boyer, 'Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Seaport' in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed, Michael Sorkin (New York: Noonday Press, 1992), pp.181-204 . For a discussion that focus on the regeneration of Newcastle see Kevin Robins, 'Tradition and Translation: National Culture in its Global Context' in *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture*, eds, John Corner and Sylvia Harvey (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 21-44.
[14] These terms perhaps should be pluralized ('centres' and 'peripheries') as the notion of centre and periphery does not acknowledge the way cities are often now considered as places with a multiplicity of different spaces. The polycentric nature of cities cannot be represented in totalizing or unified ways and the notion of one more dominant, and one less dominant space, has been replaced by an emphasis on a multiplicity of places that are prioritized in different ways by different groups.
[15] Rob Shields discusses the use of this approach to space, Shields, p. 36. Goffman's own analysis can be found in Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1959). See 'Region and Region Behaviour', pp. 109-140, particularly pp. 113-115.
[16] This notion of centre/periphery is informed by Tim Hall's discussion: '(Re) placing the City: Cultural Relocation and the City as Centre' in *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory*, eds, Sallie Westwood and John Williams (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 202-218.
[17] Anne-Marie Fortier, 2000. *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity*. (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), p. 105.
[18] Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001), p. 343.
[19] Jacques Derrida, (1998: p 17) cited in Anne M. Cronin 'Urban Space and Entrepreneurial Property Relations: Resistance and the Vernacular of Outdoor Advertising and Graffiti' in *Consuming the Entrepreneurial City: Image, Memory, Spectacle,* eds, Anne M. Cronin and Kevin Hetherington (London: Routledge 2008), pp. 65-84. p. 65.
[20] See M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001), p. 3 for a discussion on this topic.
[21] Hallam and Hockey, pp. 83-84, 90.
[22] T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, 'The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics', in *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory,* eds, T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (London and New York:

Routledge, 2000), pp. 3-85. p. 10. For a discussion of merits and failures of the approaches see pp. 7-15.
[23] Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
[24]Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, eds, *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[25] Ashplant, Dawson and Roper, p. 11.
[26] Ibid, p. 13. See Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[27] Although it should be noted that Winter also hints towards the hegemonic process of memorial building by emphasizing the negotiation between sculptors, artists, bureaucrats, churchmen and ordinary people 'to strike an agreement' as to what memorials look like and where they are placed. Winter, 1995, p. 86.
[28] One might assume when looking at a war memorial that it lists the names of all who served with that particular regiment. However, names were often only inscribed if family members or friends put their names forward. If families were absent for whatever reason during the process they would miss the opportunity of submitting a name. But inclusion often depends on personal issues and circumstance. Sometimes disputes within families complicated matters. Some women had the name of two husbands on one memorial while others might refuse to put the name of a previous husband forward, having re-married. Many women wanted to forget their past lives. The 'look' of a memorial then, is as much connected to private feelings of shame, sorrow and regret as it is to State triumphalism.
[29] Alan Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), p. 120.
[30] North East War Memorials Project, 'Memorial Details' http://www.newmp.org.uk/detail.php?contentId=7922. [Accessed 6th April 2009].
[31] Jon Davies, 'War Memorials', *The Sociological Review*, 1993, pp. 112-128. p. 112.
[32] Davies, p. 114. The British historian, David Cannadine's major works have focused on the British aristocracy and the Royal Family. Here Davis references the following article: David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain' in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death,* ed, Joachim Whaley (New York: St Martin's Press, 1981), pp. 187-189 and Alan Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform? War, Peace and the English Churches, 1900-1945* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1986).
[33] Davies, p. 114.
[34] Lowenthal (1985), p.xxiv
[35] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces' in *The Visual Culture Reader,* ed, Nicholas Mirzoeff (London and New York: Routledge, 2002a), pp. 229-236. p. 233.
[36] ibid, p. 234.
[37] ibid, p. 235.
[38] ibid. p. 235.
[39] Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), p. 226.
[40] Winter, p. 80.
[41] Ibid, p. 85
[42] Ibid, p. 85.
[43] Ibid, p. 98
[44] Benjamin Forest and Juliet Johnson, 'Unraveling the Threads of History: Soviet-era monuments and post-Soviet national identity in Moscow', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 92: 3, 2002, pp. 524-547.
[45] See Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Tim Edensor, 'The ghost of industrial ruins: ordering and disordering memory in excessive space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, 2005, pp. 829-849. p. 832
[46] Winter, p. 93.
[47] Marco Cenzatti, 'Heterotopias of difference' in *Heterotopia and the City: Public space and Postcivil Society*, eds, Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 74-85 and for Lefebvre see Henri Lefebvre, trans. by Donald

Nicholson-Smith, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1991.
[48] Lefebvre, p. 220
[49] Cenzatti, p. 76.
[50] Ibid, p. 81.
[51] Ibid, p. 76.
[52] Hallam and Hockey, p. 90.
[53] Cenzatti, p. 80.
[54] Ibid, p. 81.
[55] Ibid, p. 81.
[56] Ibid, p. 83.
[57] Foucault, 2002a, p. 235.
[58] Ibid, p. 235.
[59] Lefebvre, p. 220.
[60] Foucault, 2002a, p. 231-232.
[61] Christine M Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001), p.13.
[62] Ibid, p. 14.
[63] Foucault, 2002a, p. 235.
[64] Ibid, p. 231
[65] Ibid, p. 231-232.
[66] Alan Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), p. ix.
[67] Winter, p. 2.
[68] Ibid, p. 1.
[69] The relationship between modernity and the monument has been highly ambiguous. When Nietzsche declared 'Away with the monument!' he set the tone towards monumentalizing under modernism. Nietzsche cited in James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (Yale University Press, 2002), p. 94. Monuments came to be considered as fossils, outdated and dead, unable to generate memory but actually to hinder it. Lewis Munford pronounced the monument dead, highlighting the discrepancies between that form and the prevalent zeitgeist. The notion of a modern monument is veritably a contradiction in terms. Lewis Mumford stated 'If it is a monument, it is not modern, and if it is modern, it cannot be a monument' cited in Young, p. 94.
[70] Nazi use of monuments has seen them forever tied in imagination to fascist tendencies and politics, so much so that all monuments have begun to be thought of as inherently fascistic. In this environment, monument building becomes an ambiguous practice. As the idea of building a monument to the Holocaust proved to be not simply distasteful but a continuation of the crime itself, artists began to wonder what an anti-monument would look like. A different set of questions began to be asked; how to remember a negative? How do second generations cope with burden of remembering something they have no direct experience of? How to counter the accusation that any artistic representation of the past is self-obsessed?
[71] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory*: *Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, New York: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 5. For a discussion of the relationship between remembrance and forgetting see Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
[72] Examples of countermonuments include: Esther and Jochen Gerz's, *Monument against Fascism* (1986 – 1993 Harburg, Hamburg, Germany), Horst Hoheisel' s Negative Form (1987 Kassel, Germany) Rachel Whiteread's *Judenplatz Holocaust Memorial* (1995, Vienna), Maya Lin's *Vietnam Veteran's Memorial* (1982 Washington USA) and even Artie Spielgman's 'comix' *Maus*: *A Survivor's Tale* (New York: Pantheon, 1986). For a discussion of these see chapter four, 'Memory, Countermemory, and the end of the Monument' in James E. Young, At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture (Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 90-119.
[73] Andreas Huyssen, 'Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age' in James Young, *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History* (New York: Prestel,1994), p.12.
[74] Ibid, p. 7.
[75] Sharon Zukin, *The Cultural Economy of Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 45.

[76] The notion of 'public' space is complex. However, it is enough to say here that initially all that is meant is works that are physically accessible to the general public or visible from the public highway.
[77] For an introductory discussion on art in public spaces see Malcom Miles, *Art, Space and the City: Public Art and Urban Futures* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 3.
[78] The North East has one of the largest collections of public art in Britain. This is due to the work of the commissioning bodies: Northern Arts Regional Arts Board, Sustrans, One North East and the National Lottery Fund along with local authorities support. The vision and courage of the local authorities who believed art could play a role in the renewal of the city has been praised. 'North-east England has had as many sculptures installed in the second half of the twentieth century as in the previous 600 years. More remarkable still is the leap from 35 sculptures listed as being installed in the 1980s, to 180 in the 1990s.' Jeremy Beach, 'An Embarrassment of Riches: Recent Public Sculpture' in *Public Sculpture of North-East England,* eds, Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris, (Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. xx-xxiv.
[79] The new landscapes of the Tate Modern at Bankside, The Guggenheim in Bilbao, Barcelona's Museum of Contemporary Arts (MACBA), The Tate at Albert Dock, Liverpool have all followed a similar model which uses a major cultural institution funded by the public sector as a flagship.
[80] Gateshead Council, 'The 600 Million Legacy' [online] http://www.gateshead.gov.uk/Leisure%20and%20Culture/attractions/Angel/Background/Legacy.aspx. Accessed on 7th April 2009.
[81]Stuart Cameron and Jon Coaffee, 'Art, Gentrification and Regeneration: From Artist as Pioneer to Public Arts' in *European Journal of Housing Policy,* 5: 1, Apr 2005, pp. 39-58.
[82] Ibid, p. 49.
[83] Paul Usherwood "Introduction: Themes and Approaches' in *Public Sculpture of North-East England, eds,* Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris (Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. xvii-xxvii. p. xxiv.
[84] John Urry, The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies (London: Sage Publications, 1990).
[85] NewcastleGateshead Initiative, 'Welcome to NewcastleGateshead' http://www.visitnewcastlegateshead.com/. [Accessed on 1st April 2009].
[86]NewcastleGateshead Inititiative, 'About Us' http://www.newcastlegateshead.com/aboutus.php. [Accessed on 1st April 2009].
[87] Ibid
[88] Ibid
[89] Figures 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7 are all used with the permission of Gateshead Council and NewcastleGateshead Initiative. The rest of the figures in Chapter 2 are the author's own.
[90] Geoff Vigar, Stephen Graham, and Patsy Healey, 'In Search of the City in Spatial Strategies: Past Legacies, Future Imaginings, *Urban Studies*, 42: 8, Jul 2005, pp. 1391-1410, p. 1402.
[91] Phil Hubbard, Lucy Faire and Keith Lilley, 'Memorials to Modernity? Public Art in the "City of the Future"' in *Landscape Research*, 28: 2, pp. 147-169. p. 150-151.
[92] Hubbard *et al*, p. 151
[93] Gateshead Council, 'Public Art in Gateshead' [online] http://www.gateshead.gov.uk/Leisure%20and%20Culture/Art/ArtMaps/Home.aspxhe. [Accessed 7 April 2009]. The sculpture was funded by £800,000 of National Lottery money, £584,000 from the Arts Council is Lottery Fund, £150,000 from the European Regional Development Fund, and £45,000 from Northern Arts, plus some private sponsorship. See 'The History of Angel of the North' [online] http://www.gateshead.gov.uk/Leisure%20and%20Culture/attractions/Angel/Background/Historical.aspx. [Accessed 7 April 2009].
[94] Paul Usherwood "Introduction: Themes and Approaches' in *Public Sculpture of North-East England, eds,* Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris (Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. xvii-xxvii. p. xx.
[95] Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions*: *Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1996), p. xv.

[96] Radio 3, 'Transcript of the John Tulsa interview with Antony Gormley' [online] http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio3/johntusainterview/gormley_transcript.shtml. [Accessed 7 April 2009].
[97] antonygormely.com, 'Angel of the North' [online] http://www.antonygormley.com/viewproject.php?projectid=5 [Accessed 7 April 2009].
[98] BBC, 'Angel at Ten' [online] http://www.bbc.co.uk/tyne/content/articles/2008/02/07/angel_anniversary_antony_gormley_feature.shtml. [Accessed 7 April 2009].
[99] Gateshead Council, 'Rise and Fall - Lulu Quinn' [online] http://www.gateshead.gov.uk/Leisure%20and%20Culture/Art/ArtMaps/Post-Angel/Rise%20and%20Fall.aspx. [Accessed 7 April 2009].
[100] Gateshead Council, 'Acceleration – John Creed', [online] http://www.gateshead.gov.uk/Leisure%20and%20Culture/Art/ArtMaps/Post-Angel/Acceleration.aspx. [Accessed 7 April 2009]
[101] Goldsworthy (1994, pp. 35-36) cited in *Public Sculpture of North-East England, eds,* Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris (Liverpool University Press, 2000), p. 68.
[102] Gateshead Post (27 Jan 1994) cited in *Public Sculpture of North-East England, eds,* Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris (Liverpool University Press, 2000), p. 69.
[103] For further discussion see *Public Sculpture of North-East England, eds,* Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris. p. 70.
[104] Paul Usherwood "Introduction: Themes and Approaches' in *Public Sculpture of North-East England, eds,* Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and Catherine Morris (Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. xvii-xxvii. p. xix.
[105] Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 219.
[106] John Urry *Consuming Places* (London and New York: Routledge 1995), p. 21.
[107] Kevin Robins, 'Tradition and Translation: National Culture in its Global Context' in *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture*, eds, John Corner and Sylvia Harvey (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 21-44.
[108] Ibid, p. 39.
[109] Ibid, p. 39.
[110] Ibid, p. 40.
[111] Gateshead Council, 'The History of Gateshead – Dick Ward', [online] http://www.gateshead.gov.uk/Leisure%20and%20Culture/Art/ArtMaps/Pre-Angel/History.aspx. [Accessed 7 April 2009].
[112] Jonathan Raban, *The Soft City* (London: Harvill Press, 1998), p.23.
[113] Ibid, p. 23.
[114] Ibid. p. 24.
[115] Ibid. p. 24.
[116] Winter argues for the healing power of older traditionalist memorial art: 'the identification of the 'modern' positively with abstraction, symbolic representation, and an architectural exploration of the logical foundations of art, and negatively through its opposition to figurative, representational, 'illusionist', naturalistic, romantic, or descriptive styles in painting and sculpture, is so much a part of cultural history, that it is almost impious to question it', p. 3, He goes on to say 'The strength of what may be termed 'traditional' forms in social and cultural life, in art, poetry and ritual, lay in their power to mediate bereavement. The cutting edge of 'modern memory', its multi-faceted sense of dislocation, paradox and the ironic, could express anger and despair, and did do in enduring ways; it was melancholic, but it could not heal. Traditional modes of seeing the war, while at times less challenging intellectually or philosophically, provided a way of remembering which enabled the bereaved to live with their losses, and perhaps to leave them behind.' p. 5.
[117] For a brief discussion of memorial aesthetics see Marita Sturken, 'Aesthetics of Absence: Rebuilding Ground Zero', *American Ethnologist,* 1: 3, Aug 2004, pp. 311-325. p. 322.
[118] In Malcolm Miles analysis of art works exhibited on the London Underground and the New York subway he shows how art on public transport is important. Miles uses the entrance of Hector Guimard in Paris and Moscow's lavish depiction of soldiers, workers and peasants as examples of train stations as the 'people's palace' and argues that they are regarded as having the same importance as civic buildings. See Malcolm Miles, *Art, Space and the City:*

Public Art and Urban Futures (London: Routledge, 1997), particularly the chapter 'Art and Metropolitan Public Transport' pp. 132-149.
[119] Urry, 1995, p. 164.
[120] This figure is taken from Gateshead Council, 'Facts' [online] http://www.gateshead.gov.uk/Leisure%20and%20Culture/attractions/Angel/Facts.aspx. [Accessed 7 April 2009].
[121] Peter Halley, *Collected Essays 1981-87* (New York: Sonnabend Gallery, 1989) p. 135.
[122] Boyer, p. 131.
[123] Ibid, p. 24.
[124] Ibid, p. 5
[125] M. Christine Boyer, 'Cities for Sale: Merchandising history at South Street Seaport' in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed, Michael Sorkin (New York: Noonday Press, 1992), pp.181-204. p. 189.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid, p. 191
[128] The key concepts can be found in the following: Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976) and Marc Augé, trans. by John Howe, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London and New York: Verso, 1995)
[129] Guy Debord, *The Society of Spectacle*
[130] Anne M. Cronin and Kevin Hetherington, 'Introduction' in *Consuming the Entrepreneurial City: Image, Memory, Spectacle* edited by Anne M. Cronin and Kevin Hetherington. (London: Routledge 2008), pp. 1-16. p. 6.
[131] Andy Merrifield has described Benjamin and Baudrillard as 'magnificent at revealing the drama and dynamics of the old (and new) city street' see *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002). In *The Arcades Project* Benjamin writes that the 'Streets are the dwelling place of the collective…For the flâneur, a transformation takes place with respect to the street; for him, every street is precipitous. It leads downward…into a past that can be all the more profound because it is not his own, not private. Nevertheless, it always remains the past of a youth'. pp. 879-880. See Walter Benjamin, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLuaghlin, The Arcades Project (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1999b).
[132] Deutsche, p. xiii
[133] For figures and discussion see *Public Sculpture of North-East England, eds,* Paul Usherwood, Jeremy Beach and p. 58.
[134] BBC, 'Angel at Ten' [online] http://www.bbc.co.uk/tyne/content/articles/2008/02/07/angel_anniversary_antony_gormley_feature.shtml. [Accessed 7 April 2009].
[135] Ibid
[136] Richard Marshall, 'Contemporary Urban Place-Making at the Water's Edge' in *Waterfronts in Postindustrial Cities* ed, Richard Marshall (London: Spon Press, 2001), pp. 3-14. p. 5
[137] BBC, Charles, Chris, 'Quotes of the week' [online] http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/funny_old_game/7199901.stm. [Accessed 10 April 2009].
[138] Interviews conducted with local residents have shown the support of the projects and the positive identifications the public have made with the developments so far. See Steven Miles, '"Our Tyne": Iconic Regeneration and the Revitalisation of Identity in NewcastleGateshead', *Urban Studies,* 42:5/6, May 2005, pp. 913-926, p. 913. An architect student at Newcastle University has found that 'the majority of respondents feel the new icons are successful symbols of the area' and that 'the local people on the whole engage with the vision for the area', Claire Parry, 'Global (Re)visions of Glass and Steel: Separating Reality and Spin in the Iconography of NewcastleGateshead Quayside', MSc Town Planning Dissertation 2004/5, School of Architecture, Newcastle University, pp. 77-79.
[139] John Willet (1967; 16) lists the intentions of public art in different times and countries, he sees it as propaganda material for the revolutions of France and Russia; in pursuit of economic growth in France, and England in the nineteenth century as a moral force to improve conditions of poor**.** Cited in Malcolm Miles, *Art, Space and the City: Public Art and Urban Futures* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 6.
[140] Deutsche writes 'artists extended the notion of context to encompass the individual site's symbolic, social and political meanings as well as the discursive and historical circumstances within which artwork, spectator, and site are situated…For public art, the objective of altering

the site required that the urban space occupied by a work be understood, just as art and art institutions had been, as socially constructed places.' p. 61.
[141] Michiel Dehaene and, Lieven De Cauter 'Heterotopia in a Postcivil Society' in *Heterotopia and the City: Public space and postcivil society,* eds, Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 3-9. p. 5.
[142] Ibid, pp. 4-5.
[143] M. Christine Boyer, 'The Many Mirrors of Michel Foucault and their Architectural Reflections' in *Heterotopia and the City: Public space and postcivil society,* eds, Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 53-73. p. 54.
[144] Foucault, 2002a, p. 235.
[145] Foucault, 2002, p. 235.
[146] Richard Williams, 'Remembering, Forgetting and *the* Industrial Gallery Space' in *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City,* ed, Mark Crinson (London and New York: Routledge), pp.121-141. p. 138.
[147] Williams, p. 139.
[148] Boyer, 2008, pp. 55-56.
[149] Ibid, p. 64.
[150] Foucault, 2002a, p. 234
[151] Ibid, p. 235.
[152] Gateshead Council, 'Town Centre Partnership: Tuesday 13 May 2003, Public Art Strategy' [online] http://online.gateshead.gov.uk/docushare/dsweb/Get/Document3902/Item+5(ii)+Town+Centre+Arts+Strategy.doc. [Accessed 8 April 2009].
[153] Ibid
[154] Ibid
[155] Ibid
[156] James D. Faubion, 'Heterotopia: ecology' in *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space and Postcivil Society*, edited by Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). pp. 31-39. p. 32
[157] Gateshead Council, 'Town Centre Partnership: Tuesday 13 May 2003, Public Art Strategy' [online] http://online.gateshead.gov.uk/docushare/dsweb/Get/Document3902/Item+5(ii)+Town+Centre+Arts+Strategy.doc. [Accessed 8 April 2009].
[157] Ibid
[158] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 399-418.
[159] Ibid, p. 51.
[160] Hubbard *et al* p.154
[161] Adrian Forty 'Concrete and Memory' in *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City* (edited by Mark Crinson (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 75-95. p. 76.
[162] Brian Sewell quoted in *The Sunday Herald*, May 18 2003.
[163] Antony Gormley quoted in *The Sunday Herald*, May 18 2003.
[164] Antony Gormley quoted in *The Sunday Herald*, May 18 2003.
[165] Antony Gormley,
[166] BBC, 'Art "too good" for Northerners', [online] http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2656705.stm. [Accessed 8 April 2009.
[167] John Grundy, 'From Beamish to Baltic' [online]. http://friendsofbeamish.co.uk/johngrundy/northeast2004.html. [Accessed 8 April 2009]
[168] Ibid
[169] Ian Taylor and Ruth Jamieson, '"Proper Little Mesters": Nostalgia and Protest Masculinity in De-industrialised Sheffield' in *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory*, eds, Sallie Westwood and John Williams (London and New York: Routledge. 1997), pp. 152-178. p. 156.

Chapter 4

Memory and the Museum

> The relationships between museum and memory unfold around a peculiar relationship, as intimate and essential as that of a snail and its shell: one houses and protects the other.[1]

This metaphor of the relationship between museum and memory as a snail and its shell describes a positive, healthy and intrinsic bond. However, the connection between museum and memory has just as often been described in negative terms.[2] The museum, marked out as an institution of modernity, has been seen as silencing, replacing and excluding memory. Despite criticisms of the effects and techniques of museums, commercially, they have been successful with the number of museums opening in the UK growing steadily since the 1980s.[3] Their popularity ensures that museums are deeply involved in constructing knowledge about the past.

Remembering in the museum is an experience that involves both personal and cultural registers. The 'museum–memory nexus' provides a particularly productive mode of analysis as the two concepts encapsulate notions of subjectivity and objectivity, private and public, informal and institutional.[4] Memory is inherent in the museum and its practices and is often assumed to be attached to the museum viewed as a collection of its objects, and in this way is seen as detached from individual subjects.

This chapter questions these assumptions by a critical assessment of academic work on Beamish, the North of England Open Air Museum. Although work by Robert Hewison, Kevin Walsh, and Tony Bennett raises serious questions about the Beamish project, it ignores the interaction between exhibitions, visitors and museum guides that show the dynamism of memory processes in the museum. Their accounts all focus on the representational techniques and the content of exhibitions within the museum but do not address the role of the visitor at Beamish. Their models see meaning and memory as produced by the curators, embodied in the objects and displays and as consumed by the visitors. A simplistic approach that sees Beamish only as a Disneyland of industrialism in which passive visitors consume a sentimental and nostalgic past fails to take account of the complex dialogue actually taking place at Beamish.

This chapter highlights the key role of memory, informed by personal and family narratives, in enabling visitors to relate to the exhibitions. This approach is informed by media studies work on audience research that has begun to be applied in museum studies more widely in recent years.[5] The role of the visitor is emphasized and the high level of interaction at Beamish is attributed to the very aspects other writers have previously criticized - its sealed environment, its use of interpreters and the ubiquitous commercialism.

The chapter goes on to argue that these characteristics combine to make Beamish function as a heterotopic space. Seeing the museum as a heterotopia of memory allows for the distinctive combination of play with time

and space, the interweaving of artifice with the antique and spectacle with performance that characterize the living heritage museum. It brings out the significance of visiting the museum as a physically and emotionally involving space that does not exclude consumption from cognition. Foucault's comments on museums in relation to the concept of heterotopia suggest ways in which the complexity of the museum experience can be comprehended. It can allow for a more radical and positive account, which highlights the museum as a place of difference. In order to appreciate these possibilities, however, it is first necessary to describe in some detail what actually takes place within the museum environment.

i) 'Honey and aspic': Life in Fantasy Space[6]

A regional open-air museum near Stanley in County Durham, Beamish is a 'living' museum on a 300 acre site with 200 employees. It depicts life in the rural and industrial North East of England. The Beamish website claims that Beamish is 'not a traditional museum'.[7] It highlights its diversion from traditional forms of representation and display, proudly stating, 'You will find here no glass cases and few labels'.[8] Beamish then, continues the tradition of open-air, living-history museums that have developed throughout Europe and America such as: Skansen in Stockholm (1891), Netherlands Open Air Museum at Arnheim (1912), St Fagans National History Museum in Wales (1949), Ulster Folk Museum in Northern Ireland (1958), Henry Ford's Greenfield Village in Michigan (1929) and Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia (1932). These sites have effected a change in the form of museums from traditional museum practices towards a more participatory style.

The first temporary exhibitions opened at Beamish in 1971 but key buildings were also opened in 1985. Some of the sites, such as the drift mine, Home Farm, and Pockerley Manor existed there before the museum. Other buildings, were removed, whole or in part, from their original sites across the region and rebuilt at Beamish. They include, in the 1913 town, the Co-operative Store, a terrace of houses and a bandstand from Gateshead, the Sun Inn from Bishop Auckland and a Masonic temple from Sunderland. The miners' houses in the colliery village have been re-located from Hetton-le Hole. Internally they are all decorated in the style of their period

Prior to its opening there was a fairly low level of tourism in the North of England.[9] Although the historic sites of the North East have always attracted visitors, Beamish created one of the first dedicated tourist centres in the region. It became widely recognised as an important and innovative development in the broader UK museum scene. Beamish's considerable use of reconstruction, costumed interpreters and live performances reflects the changing modes of presenting the past in the heritage industry. Beamish has often been linked with the terms 'heritage' and 'nostalgia' both of which have been crucial in theorising on contemporary museums and memory. Both are seen as implicitly negative and damaging to memory.

Beamish has received some attention from the academic world, most of it overwhelming negative. Many authors explicitly attack the proponents of heritage and nostalgia, their goals and accomplishments. The issues that

frame the debate about open-air museums have been long-standing and are characterised by fears of increasing commercialization of the past. It is argued that Beamish has produced a sanitized version of the past that sees the shift from rural life to industrial life as a seamless, natural progression. Further, this version of the past encourages visitors to think of the time period as one of continuity and stability rather than of disruption, massive change and social unrest. It presents a predominantly masculine world in which there is little poverty, struggle or political conflict and where relative harmony exists between the landowners and the workers.

There is not a great deal of literature about Beamish and that material is limited to chapters in books rather than works devoted entirely to the museum. In 1987, the same year the museum won the European Museum of the Year Award, Robert Hewison launched a virulent attack on heritage in which the emergence and increase of heritage is seen as symbolic of, and playing a role in, Britain's decline.[10] For Hewison the growth of museums is a sign not of 'vitality' but rather of 'national decline'.[11] His book title 'The Heritage Industry' echoes the Frankfurt School's Marxist critique of the 'culture industry'.[12] He insists on the study of heritage as the starting point for the development of a critical culture; 'before we drown in honey and aspic…we need history, not heritage'.[13] Hewison fears that the heritage industry has overtaken those industries it seeks to represent. He claims it is

> expected more and more to replace the real industry upon which this country's economy depends. Instead of manufacturing goods, we are manufacturing heritage, a commodity which everybody is eager to sell. The growth of the heritage culture has led not only to a distortion of the past, but to a stifling of the culture of the present.[14]

His book provides one of the first major accounts of Beamish in relation to the effects of the heritage industry. Hewison argues that the importation of buildings from around the region to a greenfield site has resulted in an environment that is unrealistically real:

> The paradox of Beamish is not that it is false, the exhibits are as genuine as they could possibly be, but that it is more real than the reality it seeks to recall.[15]

Hewison sees Beamish as an uncomplicated example of the failures of the heritage industry that he believes turns the past into 'a major economic exercise'.[16]

Writing five years after Hewison, Kevin Walsh, asks us to think of the rise of heritage as part of 'the intensification of the postmodern experience'.[17] Walsh does make some concessions to the potential uses of heritage sites. He suggests that they can act as '"breathing spaces" in the (post-)modern world' and allows that 'the exploration of nostalgia is not necessarily a bad thing' if it is used only as a precursor to a 'more critical engagement' with the past.[18] However, his argument is dominated by a reliance on the comparison between heritage sites and Disneyland. Both of which present representations of the past 'that are devoid of conflict and anti-social behaviour, and exist within a calming rural landscape.'[19] At Beamish visitors without a 'certain amount of cultural competence' may not be able to 'understand or appreciate' sites as they confuse real signs and heritage signs.[20] He claims that the notion of empathetic time travel at heritage sites is 'one of the most dangerous and uncritical modes of representation'[21] that results in the destruction of place and produces a sense of place as 'schizophrenic'.[22] The

experience ‘served up’ at Beamish, he claims, ‘relies heavily on the promotion of selective memory and nostalgia’; it ‘exists as a fantasy island’[23] that encourages us to ‘return to our lives in the service sector and happily forget that the process of industrial capital have been moved to the third world’.[24] For Walsh, sites such as Beamish ‘sentenced [us] to a life in fantasy space’,[25] numbing our historical sensibilities.

Tony Bennett’s critique in 1995 takes the form of what has become a standard response to living-history museums. He is dismayed by Beamish’s lack of authenticity, its emphasis on entertainment rather than education and its shameless commercialism. In Bennett’s account, open-air museums construct a particular conception of the ‘people’. Noting that a museums’ ‘political rationality’ governs how they represent ‘the people’, he outlines the varying representations of ‘the people’ in different museums, listing, among others, the social democratic conceptions of the ‘people’ and the feminist discourse at the Glasgow’s Peoples Palace.[26] He includes in the list the ‘romantic populism of the open-air museum’ that he suggests Beamish perpetrates. According to Bennett, the people at Beamish are ‘people without politics’.[27] The absence of any reference to the history of the unions, or to the suffragette movement he sees as ‘a pattern of exclusion which suggests that the museum embodies, indeed is committed to, an institutional mode of amnesia’ that leads only to sentimentality and nostalgia.[28] For Bennett, Beamish fails because it produces the deadening effects of nostalgia rather than the critical history he desires. Bennett argues that the authoritative middle-class voice used in the museum’s introductory slide show is privileged over that of the ‘miner’ who narrates the

region's industrial past.[29] In this way, the museum is seen consciously to avoid representing the social movements of the time. Like Hewison he is also critical of the rearrangement of local buildings that he sees as creating an 'imagined shared regional identity', that privileges an imaginary rural 'folk' tradition into which industry was assimilated.[30] Labelling Beamish a 'deeply conservative peopling of the past' [31] his closing paragraphs provide the finale of a damning critique:

> An afternoon at Beamish can be most instructive provided that it is looked to less as providing a lesson in industrialised or regional history and more as a crash course in the bourgeois myths of history.[32]

These criticisms treat Beamish, its goals and intentions, too narrowly. The museum is seen simply as a manipulative and reductionist economic exercise that takes advantage of a public seeking to escape from the present. There is some truth to this, but it is a less than adequate account. Such aggressive and dismissive attitudes betray what Alison Landsberg describes as 'anxiety about the threat posed by the experiential mode to the hegemony of the cognitive'.[33] She has championed the experiential mode of new museums. She recognises that there is something more going on in the 'hostility' she sees displayed towards experiential museums by academics and journalists. In her discussion of experiential museums she attacks the criticism of them as a "Disneyland" or theme park, as 'easy' and 'clichéd' responses, modes of thought which she sees as motivated by an intellectual fear of such forms of mediation.[34] She dismisses arguments like Bennett's as reductive. Museums that engage people's senses as well as their minds don't necessarily 'conflate history and entertainment'.[35] Their popularity, she argues, 'reflects a change

in what counts as knowledge' and the 'different "technologies of memory" alter the mechanisms by which individuals come to acquire knowledge'.[36]

Other key texts stand in opposition to the negative approaches to heritage sites and experiential museums listed above. Raphael Samuels' work is perhaps the most well-known of them. Samuels celebrates the 'unofficial knowledge' of popular memory across a range of media and institutions.[37] In his brief discussion of Beamish he argues that it 'offers more points of access to "ordinary people" and a wider form of belonging' than older versions of the past have allowed.[38] He adds that unlike The National Trust, Beamish 'encourages people to look down rather than up in reconstituting their roots'.[39] Gaynor Kavanagh, following Annis, has argued for museums as 'dream spaces' in which visitors 'respond to images, colours and textures in rather random yet highly personal ways'.[40] She acknowledges that the Annis model also describes how a museum can function as a 'cognitive space' and a 'social space' and argues that it is in its role of 'dream space' that the museum works to arouse our imaginations and memories.[41] For Kavanagh, the museum experience is 'as much about how people feel as it is about what they know'.[42] Museums are spaces in which official history and individual memories overlap and museums encourage reflection on the tension between the two.[43]

Kevin Moore argues in direct opposition to the anti-heritage stance, suggesting that it is the traditional museum that must learn from heritage attractions, such as Beamish, which he believes are effective because they

offer the 'triple power of the real', (real things, real places, real people) even if it relies heavily on reconstruction.[44] His work is free from the anxiety regarding the status of the museum that characterizes approaches like Hewison's and Bennett's. He asks a challenging question: 'Museums will stop being museums. But does this matter?'[45] For Moore, museums must embrace the changes made in recent practice: 'Museums which adapt to this will survive, even if they can no longer be considered museums. The museum is dead. Long live heritage provision'.[46] The collapse of museums into theme parks and theme parks into museums is seen as a positive move for both institutions.

Unfortunately, the curators at Beamish have not been bold enough to follow any of these approaches and instead choose to talk about the 'real' and less real' in the museum display. The curator at Beamish, aware of the criticisms made against the museum, has argued for the legitimacy of the project:

> We hope that you will enjoy your visit but do not imagine that Beamish is a theme park solely devoted to entertainment. This is a serious museum with large and important collections of historical objects and documents. The displays are based on detailed research and scholarship. You will not at Beamish find displays in glass cases. There are few labels or information panels. We believe that such techniques would make our displays less real.[47]

In taking this line of argument the curator rejects the more critical approach which might free him from unproductive and unhelpful arguments over what is less or more 'real'. Rather he could have acknowledged that parts of Beamish *are* made up of what could be called 'sets' and that entertainment and merchandising *are* incorporated into the exhibitions, but that this does not necessarily rule out the possibility of one experiencing an active, serious or

political engagement with the past. Hewison and Bennett rightly observe that importing regional buildings creates an environment that is hyperreal and also that issues of social strife and injustice are marginalized at Beamish. The British Co-operative movement, the labour movement and women's suffrage are under-represented. However, these problems do not result in the total failure of the museum. It could even be argued that it is the very qualities which the critics see as damaging (importation of buildings, a sealed theme-park environment, costumed interpreters) that may in fact be the catalysts for producing a more active engagement with the past. There are deeply political acts of remembering taking place here which are missed by writers such as Bennett. The evidence for these claims is not considered by Bennett because it does not exist solely at the level of display nor can it be neatly defined as concerned with social or group politics in which Bennett is interested. It can be found in the deeply personal (and political) dialogue that takes place between visitors, interpreters and displays.

ii) 'That was the year my father died': Participant Observation at Beamish

Museum audience studies or museum visitor studies are now a crucial aspect of the discipline. The research in this area reflects the developments in Media, Cultural Studies and Communication Studies that have been shaped by debates of structure and agency, incorporation and resistance.[48] These have been particularly concerned with the question of where cultural meaning resides and the relative power of the author, text and reader in the creation of meaning. Thinking about how audiences receive and interpret information has

evolved through different stages of thought from the Marxist approaches of Adorno and Horkheimer, who saw mass culture as consumed by a passive public in the production of false consciousness, through to Stuart Hall's more empowering 'circuit of culture' model.[49] Subjects such as Media Studies, Film Studies, Cultural Studies and English Literature have wrestled with issues of cultural production, consumption and reception. These debates are informed by, among others, Gramsci's theory of hegemony, the structuralism and semiology of Ferdinand de Sassure and Roland Barthes' 'mythologies', Althusser's concept of 'interpellation', Derrida's work on deconstruction and his theory of 'différénce' and feminism's intersection with psychoanalysis in Screen Theory.

However, it has been the Media Studies work around the study of television viewing that can be of most use in understanding how the context of viewing informs the production of meaning in the museum. The key texts here are Morley's 'Nationwide', Dorothy Hobson's, Tania Modleski's and Ien Ang's work on soap operas.[50] All are interested in the reception of television programmes in particular contexts, particularly the domestic sphere and how this is shot through with issues of gender and class. The work in this field is analytical and often ethnographic, recording the ways in which people receive messages in different situations. It has also been self-conscious as to the meanings of the term 'audience' which can imply various different levels of participation and involvement.

Museum studies that narrowly focus on the role of governmentality and discipline in the museum are beginning to be challenged by research in museum audience studies. Works such as Bennett's, which have been primarily influenced by Michel Foucault's work on power and knowledge and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus, have been disproportionately interested in the production of exhibits and tended to 'oversimplify the relationship between government and museum, and museum and visitor'.[51] Museum Studies has moved through the media and cultural studies gamut of ideas of meaning and authorship.[52] Influenced by structuralism, museum studies reads the museum as text and sees the curator as its author until poststructuralism encouraged the view of the visitor as a crucial participant in the process of meaning-making. This move leads to a concern with the physicality of the museum visit and a new focus on the immersive quality and performativity of museums.

A number of useful accounts of the development of museum visitor studies now exists.[53] Carrying out research into visitors' behaviour and expectations has always been part of museum policy. But early research was predominantly only interested in basic demographic information: visiting patterns, user types, visitor occupation, income groups, gender and ethnicity. This extended into studies that monitored the relative success of exhibits by tracking 'hot' and 'cold' spots of the museum and the use of market research and focus groups to discover the feelings and perceptions of visitors.[54] The notion of the museum as merely enabling knowledge transmission was questioned by the concept of 'the active audience' found in media and cultural

studies. Hooper-Greenhill has pointed out that rather than seeking to establish how effectively the prescribed educational messages of the museum were received by visitors broader questions began to be asked about the motivations and expectations of the visitors.[55]

These theoretical shifts resulted in new and different methodologies, away from observations of behaviour, structured questionnaires, and interviews to interpretative social theories (symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and ethno-methodology) qualitative description and analysis and situations gained through immersion in research sites and careful listening to and analysis of speech.[56] These methods go beyond finding out to what extent visitors 'got the message' and explore how they decoded and recoded their experience.[57] Audience-orientated approaches problematize the concept of authorship and question the museum's ability to control meaning. Instead of viewing visitors as an undifferentiated mass public, museum visitor studies begins to see how visitors construct multiple, differentiated readings, as active interpreters and performers. A number of studies now exist which focus on the museum from the visitor's perspective and attend to the personal contexts which shape their interests and motivations in relation to the museum.[58]

Academic critiques of Beamish have primarily described its strategies of exhibition and presentation techniques. The museum has not yet been the subject of any participant observation. As part of the research for this thesis, participant observation was undertaken that has allowed for a more informed analysis of how visitors engage with and take meaning from the museum. As

only a minor part of the overall work for the thesis the research is relatively small. The participant observation, undertaken on-site involved listening to conversations between single visitors or groups with interpreters over three visits. It was important to visit the museum a number of times, as the demographics of the visitors change depending on the time of year, and the time of week. The data was collected by taking hand-written notes of visitors' conversations. These were recorded as visitors moved through the museum and reacted to specific objects or buildings. This means that the data reflects a cross-section of visitors to Beamish rather than specifically selected group. The purpose of the observation was to establish how visitors responded to the exhibits and in particular, what connections they made with their own family histories and personal narratives to make sense of the museum exhibits. Only conversations that drew on the visitor's own personal narratives were noted. The visitors were unaware of any observation but the staff had been informed.

During participant observation at Beamish it quickly became clear that many visitors are participating in reminiscence of some kind. Walsh points out, rightly, that the readiness with which visitors adopt a nostalgic attitude at Beamish is due to the fact that many of the objects on display remained 'extant long after the period in which the museum is supposedly set'.[59] The objects displayed are common enough, and within living memory, so that many of the visitors, at least those over the age of 40, are able to remember them. The nostalgic effect is seen, for Walsh, in the commonly heard remarks of the visitors: 'that's just like the iron we used to have', or 'this living room looks exactly the same as Grandma's'.[60] However, visitors often go on to say

more than these initial observations. For example, a visitor, became involved in a conversation with one of the interpreters while looking around displays located in the Co-operative Shop, they began by talking about particular food stuffs that they remembered eating and particular products that they remembered their grandmothers using. However, they had soon moved on to talking about their fathers, both of whom had fought in the Second World War. They told each other what their fathers had said, or rather hadn't said, about their war experiences. But they also discussed the end of their father's lives, how each had died, at what age, and the relative merits and failures of residential care homes.

This conversation highlights a number of points of interest that can be used to counteract the arguments that are made against museums in general, and Beamish in particular. Firstly, the women's conversation shows them to be concerned with politics. These are not 'people without politics', whatever Bennett may claim about the way the exhibition represents the North East populace. Secondly, the women's discussion is not tied to the time period of the exhibition and in this way tests the claim often made about industrial museums that they fail to encourage visitors to connect the present with past. Thirdly, it shows how personal lives and family histories are drawn on to make sense of the exhibits. Fourthly, this example challenges the assumption that meaning in the museum is embodied in the object, arranged by the curators and merely 'consumed' by the visitors. Meaning-making at Beamish is arrived at through conversation between visitors and interpreters and particularly through cross-generational exchanges. The interplay between visitor, object

and interpreter is relevant to the final argument that emphasizes the sensory aspect of visitors' experience. The physicality of the site and the practices of consumption and performativity have an impact on visitors that effects how they remember and make sense of the past.

Analysis of the participant observation challenges the first two claims made against Beamish; that it is not concerned with politics and fails to encourage visitors to understand how they are historically situated. Examples support the argument that visitors to Beamish are both engaging with important political issues and are able to see themselves as part of, and affected by, historical forces. In the course of making comparisons between present and past experiences, visitors broached subjects from housing and schooling to healthcare. Mike Wallace, like Bennett and Hewison, has written persuasively on the failure of contemporary museums to situate visitors as historical actors. He argues that a sealed historical environment like Beamish hides the links between the present and the past. He argues for the distinct possibilities of industrial museums, like Beamish, to 'connect past and present' in a way that shows the ongoing relations of 'the institutions of capitalist industrial revolution in the nineteenth century to the conditions of the host town in the twentieth century.'[61] Wallace's complaint is that industrial museums stop the clock before de-industrialisation so that 'studying the industrial era becomes a perhaps interesting but essentially antiquarian exercise'.[62] This assumption needs to be challenged. The women's discussion clearly involved their everyday concerns. They made the imaginative leap from past to present and raised issues of social care, changing attitudes to masculinity, work and

welfare. Wallace suggests that a shift in focus from de-industrialisation to the global reorganisation of capitalism in the twentieth century is necessary. He suggests that

> an innovative exhibition might explore parallels between nineteenth century American conditions and those prevailing in the new sweatshops of New York City and Hong Kong.[63]

He claims this kind of approach would involve museum visitors as citizens and might enhance their capacity to make historically informed decisions and thus strengthen the democratic process. For Wallace, multiple perspectives should be of interest to industrial museums, with de-industrialisation as one topic that would set local stories in a global context and emphasize that people in the past were, and contemporary visitors are, political actors.[64] This is a laudable aim, but it is too prescriptive. Also it assumes that visitors are not making their own connections between past and present when in fact they often are. Susan Crane has said it is

> personal awareness of the past as such and a desire to understand experience with reference to time, change and memory – which has emerged as the unmentioned key term in a changing museal discourse.[65]

So while Wallace argues that the 'political consequences of this impoverished historical consciousness are profound, and it is critical that historians contest those institutions that promote it',[66] Crane asserts that historical consciousness, despite historians' concerns about the realm of personal memory, 'continuously exceeds those documentable moments which result in texts and narratives'.[67] For Crane, a 'range of personal memories is produced not limited to the subject matter of exhibits'.[68]

Wallace's approach is similar to Bennett's in that the politics and the connections he wants visitors to identify are social rather than personal. While Wallace believes a global overview would allow visitors to gain greater insights into the historical moment in which they are living such a strong left-wing and political economic approach may overwhelm and alienate visitors. Would visitors, confronted with such material, feel comfortable enough to discuss their more private reflections? The visitors' discussions often cover political issues albeit from a personal context. The visitors at Beamish often display a deeply political, yet personal, concern with the past. They often discuss time periods not represented in museum displays and are able to make links between different historical moments.

The third point of interest shows how personal lives and family histories are drawn on to make sense of the exhibits. Visitors used their own biographies, personal memories and family histories in an effort to engage with the site and to generate meaning. They were able to identify with the collective memory at Beamish and in this way personal memories, hopes and aspirations are called upon in a way that links past and present and museum and visitor. One surprising result found from participant observation was the number of times visitors made negative comments about their relatives. The following conversations serve as typical examples. In the first conversation two white middle-aged men are looking at a mangle:

MAN 1. Do you remember them sir?
MAN 2. Oh yes…my granny had this [a mangle]… I remember coming home from school…you cycle your bike through all the sheets hanging in the streets, and you'd get wrong…but she [granny] was a wicked woman…oh aye…she was a bitter old thing.

MAN 1 [laughs] I remember the sort of 50s wrangler – agitator thing, lethal they were. I can remember once getting my fingers caught...oooucch {laughs}

The second conversation took place between a middle-aged mother and teenage daughter while they looked at some jam jars:

MOTHER: I remember Gran making jam
DAUGHTER: Mean Gran?
MOTHER: Yes love.

Particular objects and images encourage visitors to remember personal feelings and emotions that may not usually be expressed or have not been thought about for some time. The next example shows how museum objects and displays can also help visitors to realize in a profound way the course their lives have taken, the dreams and hopes they have fulfilled and those that have been forgotten or unachieved. Here an couple in their late seventies chat with a young female interpreter in her twenties in the Co-op shop:

MAN to interpreter: Don't you have a bacon slicer?
INT: No we didn't have them up North in 1913, they had them down South though by that time…maybe after the war. We just had a man do it by hand.
MAN: That's interesting.
INT: I've never seen one but people always ask…I don't think I even know what one looks like.
WOMAN: Oh they looked a bit like this [points to coffee grinder] it had a handle like this…that you turned
INT: Oh right
MAN: Oh before I fulfilled my dream of being a railway man I used to want to be the man who worked the bacon slicer [laughs] [to interpreter] thank you you've been very helpful and interesting to talk to.

To remember in the museum then is to reflect on what might have been. So that although Beamish provides an essentially artefactual history it is not necessarily received passively or without personal engagement. It is their own experiences, their own family stories and personal narratives that illuminate

the exhibit. Falk and Dierkling have suggested that 'at the heart of every visitor's preconceptions and expectations is her personal context' and that 'her personal reservoir of knowledge, attitudes and experience…create an agenda which determines the nature of the visit'.[69] Elsewhere they have emphasized the importance of what they call 'personal meaning mapping' in understanding the museum visit.[70] Personal meaning mapping and 'free choice learning' mark a shift away from the behaviourist approaches that suggest that visitors simply respond to museum stimulus towards a 'constructivist' approach that emphasizes the input of the learner in meaning-making processes and as such recognize the valuable ways these may take place. This includes a new focus on difference in settings and of the socio-cultural context. The socio-cultural context includes not just personal attributes but whether the visitors are part of a group. This informs the fourth claim that not only do visitors draw on their own personal histories but that meaning comes through conversation and interaction with other visitors and with interpreters.

The conversation above is the result of the specific dynamic between the interpreter and the visitors. The interpreter's youth and the visitor's age and personal experience made the exchange possible. The interplay of talk with the examination of the exhibit, and the visual conduct and orientation of the participants has begun to be investigated. Heath and vom Lehn have drawn on video-based field studies and ethnographies of conduct and interaction in a number of museums and galleries, in order to explore the ways in which visitor behaviour encourages others to engage with exhibits in a way that

creates opportunities for shared exploration and discussion.[71] They note that even when visiting museums alone, the very presence and conduct of others, may influence not only the ways in which one navigates exhibitions but also how one examines a work of art or artefact.[72] In this model participants are seen to establish co-orientation towards particular objects and encourage each other to look at and appreciate exhibits in specific ways. The relevant objects, and their transitory sense and significance, emerge moment by moment, within a complex negotiation through which the participants become temporarily aligned towards a specific exhibit. The discovery of the objects and their significance arises within the interaction and the contingent and emerging contributions of the participants. What is seen, how it is looked at, and its momentary sense and significance are reflexively constituted from within the interaction of the participants themselves.

A large number of visitors to museums are in family groups[73] and this is also true of Beamish. So co-orientation often takes place among family. Kavanagh argues that museums are 'one of the places which enhance opportunities for children and adolescents to talk about the past'.[74] This process is seen as of fundamental importance to the child's sense of self. Kavanagh references Freud's assertion that confidence and assuredness about the self comes from knowledge of the past to argue for the museum as a source of 'images and information on which we can call' in this process.[75] Visiting a museum in a family unit opens up the possibilities for cross-generational exchanges. At the museum a child's family past can be talked about. Walsh fails to see this possibility for family remembrance at Beamish. On the contrary, for him, one

of the most 'dangerous' aspects of Beamish is the effect it has on those who cannot remember the past recalled:

> For them, their nostalgia is often second-hand. Their parents or grandparents can pass on their own nostalgia and before long, a generation will exist whose heritage lies with the heritage industry.[76]

Walsh disapproves of the nostalgia that he sees as paramount to the success of Beamish and fails to see the positive potential of cross-generation exchanges.[77] Falk and Dierkling, on the other hand, have argued that when visiting museums most adults were motivated by, and anxious about the educational experience the museum could provide for the child.[78] Parents recognize the special social experience they can have with their children at museums. It offers a space in which to discuss family history and to 'develop shared understanding among family members'.[79]

The following conversation took place between an elderly man and his grandson of around 10 years old. They were looking at the gas lamps in a cottage located in the Colliery Village:

MAN: I remember them you know?
BOY: Do you Granda?
MAN: yes, still had them in the forties…we had gas everything, gas stove too
BOY: Oh right
MAN: [pointing to some linen] I've got some linen like that I think still, at home… aye it was *my* granny's [laughs] if you'll believe that
BOY: Will you show us when we get home?
MAN: yes, yes we'll get all the old stuff out and have a look what we've got.

Falk and Dierkling claim that family groups can be alienated by museum exhibits that have a complex content or is overly large. Families try to contextualize the information offered at the museum by telling their own stories or, 'personalizing' exhibitions through interaction within the group.[80] In

the museum, families use the artefacts to facilitate their own more personalized concerns and in this process the discussion can travel near and far to the object viewed and in and out of topics as opposed to direct discussion of the object.[81]

From listening to conversations at the museum it is clear that meaning is not created by individuals on their own, nor is it to be 'found' in the objects on display. Here, meaning and memory come out of *interaction* initially prompted by a material object. Through the sharing of experiences the object is altered. The meanings that are attributed to these objects slowly emerged through conversation, shared looking and touching. So that this interplay becomes of significant interest and importance in understanding how the past is remembered and how meaning is arrived at. Studies that focus on visitor behaviour have largely concentrated on the relationship between the individual visitor and the information package. These approaches fail to acknowledge how meaning is generated through interaction together and their relation to the object.

The last point that the participant observation made clear is how meaning-making, or personal meaning mapping, in the museum is structured around the performance both of individual consumers and of those employed to stimulate memories for example the actors at Beamish. It has been suggested first by John Urry and later by Gaynor Bagnall that to reminisce is to effect a performance and that there can be no single or simple history conveyed through the performances of heritage.[82] Both Urry and Bagnall argue for the

role of performativity, and performativity through *consumption,* at the museum as key to the sort of reminiscence possible at heritage sites. They stress that consumption here does not signal passivity. Rather, 'it involves concentrated viewing and performance' on the part of visitors and staff.[83] And as Urry points out it is not important that there is a 'staginess' to the whole performance because, there is a

> clear understanding that the actors are performing and that the objects on view, some of which are copies or fragments of the historical record, have been placed in a simulated environment. Just like an audience at a play, visitors are reflexively aware that what they see has been "staged".[84]

Gaynor Bagnall continues some of these themes and is concerned to discover how visitors negotiate heritage sites.[85] Her aim, to move away from, narrow quantitative methods led her towards the notion of 'mapping' visitors through patterns of consumption. Bagnall borrows the notion of mapping from Kevin Lynch who uses the concept in his spatial analysis of the city. Lynch suggests that urban alienation is linked to the mental unmappability of city space, this idea is also expressed by Fredric Jameson.[86] Bagnall looks at the ways in which visitors map their consumption at Wigan Pier and the Museum of Science and suggests that visitors 'emotionally, imaginatively and physically map their consumption' in making sense of the past at those sites.[87] Such forms of mapping enable and enhance the visitor experience. Bagnall argues that the museum visit is organised by physical experience and that there is a bodily mapping of consumption at heritage sites. It is through this mapping that Bagnall suggests the visitor's stimulates imagination and emotions (and memory) and it is these responses that allows the visitors to frame their understanding of museum exhibits. It is not only the information labels and the

broadly cognitive experience of the museum that contributes to a visitors 'mapping' but the sensory experience – the sights, sounds and smells – that help emotional mapping.[88] Bagnall argues that this is often achieved through consumption at sites like Beamish. Thus, the consumption experience is an active rather than a passive process. Bagnall has labeled such experiences as the '*embodiment* of consumption', by which she means the capacity of the sites to engage and stimulate a whole range of physical and sensory experiences, and the way the sites engage visitors on an emotional level'. She sees these experiences as characterized by an increasing 'reflexivity of the self,' or a process of individualization which she sees as evidence of a move away from national memory to more complex and contradictory individual memory. This is seen positively as a move towards plurality. It can be suggested that the performativity at the museum embodies a tension between 'spectacular' postmodern forms of consumption and a more embedded form of consumption that is related to social relations, life-histories, and the lived experience of the visitors. The site of Beamish and its artefacts allow for physical and emotional responses from the visitors in just this way.

A central feature of imaginary mapping is the performance and stimulation of memories, a form of reminiscence that is informed by performativity, and emotional realism. However, there are still forms of constraint. These are not unstructured spaces; visitors are offered a particular range of experiences and they are directed to consume the sites in particular ways. There are, to a large extent, preferred readings, or preferred ways in which to consume and experience the sites, which affect the processes of consumption found there.

However, this does not mean that this is a passive or non-critical form of consumption. As the rejective/negative emotional mappings identified earlier indicate, visitors were active and critical in their consumption of the sites. This activity on the part of the audience can also be discerned in the actors' comments about their experiences of the different types of audiences for which they performed and in the ways in which audiences disrupted or challenged the performance. This suggests that the barriers between audience and performers at such sites are fluid and permeable.

The memory practices of visitors at Beamish, that are often enabled and realized through acts of consumption, can challenge the messages and meanings the museum intends to convey. Bagnall has discussed the way in which personal memory of visitors at museums can be seen to 'rewrite' dominant discourses at museums.[89] Drawing on the work of Ann Game and de Certeau, Bagnall notes how these 'rewritings act as anti-texts allowing us to read against the text'.[90] Game agrees to an extent with anti-heritage models such as Hewison's, Walsh's and Bennett's, allowing that

> heritage with its discourses of nationality, pastness and memory does have a tendency to homogenize, to reduce heterogenous history to heritage. However at such sites there is a space for personal memory, a 'place for retelling.[91]

Although the museum exhibits may work to control meaning and memory in the museum, personal memory, that 'cannot be read by others', can be opened up for the transformation of stories.[92] This model of the production of meaning and memory in the museum shows the visitor as an active participant. Analysis of participant observation at Beamish corroborates the finding of Gordon Fyfe and Max Ross that local museums are mediators

between identity and structure and that museum visiting is to be understood as a social relationship.[93]

Sharon Macdonald pointed out in 1996 that, in spite of the fecundity of museums as a site of study for the issues of knowledge and power production that are central to the social sciences, the study of museums is still comparatively underdeveloped in relation to that of school or television.[94] However, studies on museums do seem to have followed the same trajectory in terms of the theoretical understanding of meaning and representation. Contemporary museum studies are leaving behind older models that emphasize a top-down approach of museums as agents of social control. A shift has occurred from the view that museums are only tools for reproducing the dominant social order and that they unproblematically reflect dominant ideological interests. In work such as Bennett's and Hewison's, meaning is simply 'read off' museum displays in a way that supports their arguments that museums disseminate messages from the cultural and political elite which are uncritically absorbed by visitors. These models assume both a self-conscious manipulation on the part of the professionals involved in curating and exhibiting and the compliance of a passive and unitary public. One writer points out that the museum experience is 'far more than the cold meeting of the minds of the visitors with the curator's carefully constructed displays'[95] and another writer argues that:

> no matter how much the museum consciously or unconsciously, produces and affirms the symbolic order, there is always a surplus of meaning that exceeds ideological boundaries, opening spaces for reflection and counter-hegemonic memory'.[96]

Having established this, Macdonald is careful to remind us that it is important to acknowledge the ways in which museums are not like texts. She emphasizes that we must not lose sight of the materiality and sitedness of the museum and the 'non-verbal culture' of its content and 'the fact that audiences literally enter and move within them'.[97] The characteristics and presentation strategies that have previously been identified as damaging and harmful to memory in the museum can be seen as positive and productive elements in the museum experience. The physicality of this experience, from its sealed environment to the consumption of goods at the site encourages a level of performance and engagement from the visitor that enables personal memory.

The complexity of the museum and of the ways visitors engage with it and of the responses and interactions that it stimulates calls for a conceptually richer analysis that has hitherto been deployed. The museum cannot be seen simply as a collection of artefacts from the past, nor as an entertainment, nor as an exercise in political or social control. It is all of these things, simultaneously and in the same place. It has many of the features that Foucault meant to draw attention to when he introduced the concept of heterotopia.

iii) Museum and Space: Theme Park or Heterotopia?

It has been Foucault's work on the prison, clinic and asylum that has previously been of most academic interest in relation to museums. Work informed by this aspect of his thinking reflects on the museum as an expression of power/knowledge relations and an institution of discipline and

governance. In comparison what he actually writes about the museum as a heterotopia has not received as much attention or interest. The few studies that have explored the museum as heterotopia have not been explicit about the way in which museums could constitute heterotopias.[98]

Foucault has described museums, along with libraries, as heterotopias of 'indefinitely accumulating time'.[99] He groups the museum under the fourth principle of heterotopia, which states that heterotopia are 'most often linked to slices in time'.[100] For Foucault

> the idea of accumulating everything, of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity.[101]

From this it is clear that Foucault is describing the modernist didactic museum of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. For Foucault, the museum is heterotopic because it puts disparate objects side-by-side in the presentation of the totality of time and remains isolated from historical process. Beth Lord notes that in this way the museum paradoxically 'contains infinite time in a finite space, and it is both a space of time and a "timeless' space"'.[102] This model of the museum aims to systematically collect, display and interpret objects from different times and to this extent varies from the guiding principles of Beamish. Foucault's account of the museum as a place that encloses all times, epochs, forms and tastes may describe the institutional mode of the British Museum. However, a museum like Beamish clearly is more restricted in scope and has a different approach to the past. It's

concentration on two time periods and one specific regional history means that it does not claim to house all forms and times. However, if the concept of heterotopia is to be usefully applied to a contemporary open-air museum like Beamish, it must address the museum's particular character.

Beamish fits a number of Foucault's definitions of heterotopia: as sites related to 'slices of time',[103] they are capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces or sites that are in themselves incompatible and which always 'presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable'.[104] Heterotopia function in relation to all the space that remains by either creating a space of illusion that exposes every real place as even more illusory or they 'create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed and jumbled'.[105]

All museums fit the description of the heterotopia as sites related to 'slices of time'.[106] However, in Foucault's texts the conception of time in museums seems contradictory and ambiguous. In collapsing different times together time is eradicated and recovered. Foucault's philosophy is that, whilst museums simultaneously illustrate the passage of time their overall effect is to make time and history meaningless by compacting it. This concern is of continued importance to other writers. The museum is understood as a store-house or repository of collective memory that heightens our awareness of the passage of time in their technologies and taxonomies. The visitor is invited to

make the imaginative connections between disparate objects and close the gap between times.

Didier Maleuvre also describes how art galleries render a number of different and disconnected pasts simultaneously. Bennett recognizes that Maleuvre's approach shows how museums are involved in an 'active and inescapably political process of re-memorisation'.[107] He goes on to say that the museum produces an 'image of the past as a homogenous continuum rolling into the present', by re-ordering spaces and through reconstruction it brings all pasts together 'producing a flash of remembrance in which all historical layers exist simultaneously'.[108]

Beamish too can be described as producing a flash of remembrance in which if not all, many, historical layers exist simultaneously which has the effect of involving them in an 'active and inescapably political process of re-memorisation'.

Foucault's description of heterotopia as capable of holding in one real place several incompatible spaces can be applied to Beamish. The museum condenses multiple times and places. It compacts the worlds of 1825 and 1913. The town scene exists alongside the rural idyll, the coalmine alongside the Manor House. The aim of Beamish is expressly to contain different spaces and times under one roof. Beamish is engaged in a play with time, which understood in the systematic style of the 'ideal' museum is Foucault's subject.

Nonetheless, it engages with time in a different fashion. Bennett claims that, at Beamish, time enters a 'twilight zone'. He argues that the museum is stuck 'in a twilight zone between the rural past and the fully industrialised present.'[109] He argues that the relative age of the different collections hardly matters as everything at Beamish is 'frozen at the same point in time: the moment of transition from a rural to an industrial society.'[110] He echoes an earlier point made by Hewison, who claims that the town street 'evokes an indistinct period of between the two wars, at just that distance in time where memory softens and sweetens'.[111] The museum's decision to concentrate on two time periods, 1825 and 1913, has been criticised for privileging periods of high economic activity in the region rather than times of suffering and struggle. The museum is seen as conveniently avoiding the climax of the Chartist campaign for male suffrage in 1842, the year of the British General Strike in 1926, and the extreme poverty and unemployment in the North East that resulted in the Jarrow March of 1936.

Explaining museums in relationships to time, while illuminating, does not take account of the other ways in which the museum can be seen as heterotopic. Foucault's emphasis on the museums as a place to present all of history needs reassessing. Lord has pointed out that approaching the heterotopic museum as a space of time 'limits the museum to the form, aims and activities it took on in the nineteenth century'.[112] She goes on to say that to restrict the meaning of the heterotopic museum to a space containing different objects is 'either banal (a supermarket is also a space of different objects) or overly reliant on the notion, associated with the nineteenth-century museum, of a

'timeless' storehouse of temporally discontinuous objects'.[113] She has convincingly argued that current approaches to the museum as heterotopia fail to take account of the historically different forms of the museum and the respective differences in their goals, audiences and modes of representation. The heterotopic nature of museums, she argues, lies precisely in the museum as a *space* of *difference* and it is by preferring this definition that the full potential of museums as heterotopia is realized. Lord wishes to emphasize the museum as a site of difference and a space of representation in that it reveals the difference between words and things. However the focus in this chapter is on the museum as a site of difference in relation to the way in which heterotopias represent, contest, and reverse the space outside the museum. If a heterotopia is seen as a site that alludes to or evokes other spaces, it is possible to understand how the physical and performative aspects of Beamish constitute an essential aspect of its impact.

Falk and Dierkling have emphasized that in visiting a museum, visitors are 'placing themselves within a "physical context"' although they concede that 'this is not how most people think of a museum visit'.[114] But of course, they claim, 'that is what they have done'.[115] Beamish fits the definition of heterotopia as 'a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable'.[116] Foucault describes heterotopia as sites at which one is subject to rites and purifications and which are not necessarily freely accessible to the public. He is referring to sacred sites at which various religious and hygiene rules must be observed. To enter these places one must have certain permissions and make certain gestures. Something similar

is true of museums. Various writers have emphasized the effect of the museum on the body and behaviour of the visitor: Carol Duncan has discussed the museum visit as a form of ritual;[117] Bourdieu and Bennett have made us aware of the way in which all museums subject the visitor to organized walking which produces new forms of citizenship and discipline and reflects social class and public manners.[118]

As a living history museum, Beamish provides a clear example of the demands made on visitors. It is as an enclosed world that cannot be seen or heard unless one pays for (a rather expensive) ticket. When Foucault states that heterotopias are not places to be entered freely, he was not referring to the price of admission but to rituals at the thresholds. Still, the act of purchasing a ticket is a formal requirement that heightens the experience of entering. It necessarily excludes and creates a barrier to pass. Having paid for one's ticket one enters into the world of Beamish.

The museum then, encourages particular modes of conduct and behaviour within its walls. However, it also engenders ways of seeing which produce an understanding of the North East that exists beyond them. Beamish functions as a heterotopic site by having a 'relation to all the space that remains' by creating a 'space of illusion that exposes every real place as even more illusory' and they 'create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed and jumbled'.[119] Museums have functioned, and continue to function, to reflect our culture back to us. They perform a mirroring role. Living history museums such as

Beamish take this mirroring to a heightened, more complete level. Beamish simulates, reproduces and mimics what were once real lived spaces and in the process heightens the tensions between the space of the museum and the space outside of it. The museum juxtaposes the perfected, happy prosperous North East of the past inside the museum boundaries and the reality of the nearby villages of Consett and Beamish and by extension the city of Newcastle upon Tyne. The sixth principle of heterotopia that stipulates that they 'have a function in relation to all the space that remains' takes on particular poignancy in relation to the vicissitudes of the towns surrounding the heritage centre.[120] During the construction of Beamish outside its walls the North East was being deconstructed. It has been pointed out that the reason the museum's then director, Frank Atkinson, was able to collect so much material was because of the 'redevelopment and dispersal' of declining local communities.[121]

Ten miles from Beamish, Consett has a long industrial history which was dominated by 1840's steel works. By 1980 the steel works were shut. Beamish serves to highlight what has been lost and what has been experienced by many as a downward spiral of the fortunes of the North East. Research shows that visitors' motivations for visiting heritage sites or living history museums are 'family fun and togetherness, a safe environment and a good place to bring guests'.[122] This reveals the way in which the hyperreal, reconstructed and mythic space of the North East could be seen as a safe, clean place as opposed to the 'real' spaces outside (local parks, shopping centres etc) that may be perceived as dangerous, unpleasant or unclean.

Beamish offers a space of difference and otherness that may be preferable to the public spaces of the villages and cities around. In this way the museum presents a critique of modernity.

The design and positioning of Beamish ensures that none of these outside realities impinge on the experience of 'stepping back in time'. The high-rise Gateshead flats cannot be viewed from within the grounds. Entrenching the heterotopic nature of Beamish as subject to 'a system of opening and closing' that both isolates them and makes them penetrable',[123] Beamish is set apart physically. Unlike many traditional museums that exist in the centre of the city as key civic institutions, living history museums, partly due to the ambitious nature of their projects, exist on the edges of cities. These history islands or 'time capsules' have been seen by Walsh to function like 'out-of town heritage shopping centres'.[124] Beamish occupies a similar space to that of the Metro Centre, a large indoor shopping centre with historically themed quarters. Both lie just outside Newcastle off the A1 motorway. For Walsh, such places are literally on the 'road to nowhere'.[125] As part of his argument for the increasing rise of the non-place of supermodernity Marc Augé considers the way in which all places publicly announce their historical legacies to passing motorists through road signs and billboards. These are 'business cards' for the area, which make the historical context explicit.[126] They have emerged with the re-organisation of space; the creation of bypasses and main motorway routes that avoid towns.[127] In this way, Augé describes how it is at the city limits, by motorways, 'in the cold, grey gloomy space of big housing schemes, industrial zones and supermarkets' that signs for sites of historical

interest can be found.[128] They are aimed at motoring tourists encouraging them to pause awhile as if, he says, 'alluding to former times and places were today just a manner of talking about present space'.[129]

These observations could be utilised to form further attacks on Beamish. Its quality of in-betweenness means that it does not function as a site of traditional historical narratives but of memory and difference. Like the Metro Centre, Beamish exists on the margins of town and acts as a site of consumption. They both offer a space of difference and opportunities for new and various types of identification. The Metro Centre is built in the standard style of a modern shopping centre. In contrast, Beamish has gone to great lengths to relocate or reconstruct traditional buildings. But their geographical dislocation sets them apart from the civic buildings at the heart of the city. The planned Great North Museum: Hancock will be situated in the more traditional place of the museums, at the centre of public life. In these ways, the difference and similarities between Beamish and these institutions contribute to its heterotopic character by reordering the social space outside its boundaries.

The geography of the North East is not forgotten inside the museum although it plays a rather unusual and spurious role. The museum exhibits refer to an historical North East outside of its walls. The display includes old road signs that point to places in the North East. Walsh has noted that these signs point in the wrong direction and display incorrect distances to the real existing sites referred to. In this way he sees Beamish as located on a mythological map of

the mind which exists only in a form of hyperspace; the space of Beamish is seen as an 'abstract space which is unmappable.'[130]

Mark Sandberg discusses museums that rely on costumed narrators and recreations.[131] He identifies some of the pleasures and functions of museums that are based on historically recreated worlds and performance and argues that these enjoyments are related to other kinds of distinctly modern pleasures.[132] The control and mobility offered to visitors allows them to enjoy moving in and out of past, and so the past is experienced as both present and absent.[133] Mannequins, artefacts and reconstruction all contribute to position the visitor as voyeur. Many visitors seemed to enjoy the simulation *as* simulation, finding pleasure in that in-betweenness, a pleasure that was only possible in terms of modern spectator positions, and that dispensed with the priority of the original over the copy, reality over the representation.

There is some question over the novelty of this type of engagement with the past. It has been argued that this sort of historical imagination was practised by Victorian tourists.[134] Peter Madler has argued that although we might characterize the Victorian era as immobile, technologically limited and dependent on simpler oral and visual sources, they approached historic sites as part of a dense web of representation that we might today call a multimedia experience. Historical novels, paintings, dramatic performances and historic settings were all purposefully staged to refer to and support each other.[135] His study shows that the Victorians enjoyed historical dramas which were set in 'authentically recreated historic buildings, with authentic costume, armour,

and interior decoration'.[136] Impressive 'light and motion effects' were used to animate extravagant dioramas representing historic events.[137] The presentations and performances at Beamish are in this tradition. They involve what Hetherington calls 'spatial play' and contribute to Beamish being an heterotopic memory site.

Kevin Hetherington's essay on Stonehenge also provides support for the continued use of the term 'heterotopia' in relation to contemporary museums. He argues that we must cease to think of what he calls the 'museum without walls' in the same way as we think about the classical museum.[138] For Hetherington it is the spatial play at these sites which 'breaks down the disciplinary powers of the classical museum' by challenging its modes of ordering.[139] Hetherington argues that the power of such institutions lies in their reintroduction of spectacular modes of exhibiting. He argues for the museum without walls as a heterotopic space by highlighting its emphasis on 'participation through utopic spatial play'.[140]

The same claim can be made for Beamish. The techniques of display which were accused of supporting nostalgia and passive consumption creates particular conceptions of time and specific engagements with space. Beamish as a sealed environment may enable visitors to enter a protected space and a time set aside for memory. It is the visitor's self-conscious movement through a space of difference, an other space, a space different from the space beyond, that allows visitors to explore feelings and memories that may have been neglected, forgotten or repressed outside.

One aspect of heterotopias that De Cauter and Dehaene have identified, is that they embody the 'architecture of the holiday'.[141] They argue that it is a time-space relation that composes heterotopia. Holidays, it is argued interrupt the continuity of space as well as the continuity of time. Heterotopia is the counterpart of what an event is in time, an eruption, an apparition, an absolute discontinuity, taking on its heterotopic character at those times when the event in question is made permanent and translated into a specific architecture. They point out that fairs, carnivals, holiday camps, the honeymoon, old peoples' homes, graveyards, theatre, cinema, libraries, hamams, saunas, motels and brothels are heterotopia that are seen as 'holyday' spaces and they include the museum in this category.[142]

When considering the treatment of time in the museum, Foucault likens the heterotopic museum to the holiday village. This is not a surprising comparison given that many criticisms of museums are focused on the qualities they are seen to share with theme parks and fairs. However, Foucault's aim is to emphasize both the spatial and temporal qualities of these spaces which he sees as key to the production of heterotopia.

It is not clear, from these discussions, whether the concept of heterotopia sits most comfortably with the ideal nineteenth century store-house museum or with the postmodern open-air models. Hetherington, having extended Foucault's use of the term heterotopia in relation to the museum, does not go so far as to argue that these new forms of ordering in museums is

postmodern. He remains wedded to Foucault's insistence that the notion of museums as heterotopic and utopic 'belong' to modernity, and that these ideas continue to be found in contemporary museums.[143] What is new, he claims, is the 'mulitvocality' of modernity that can be seen in the museum as 'the producer of varied utopics'.[144] He concludes that:

> The classical museum sought to impose a vision of modernity through a control of all that it saw as Other. The museum without walls reveals that deferral and Otherness are at the very centre of the modern.[145]

What emerges from the various ways in which Foucault's introduction of heterotopia has been exploited is that neither the nineteenth century nor the twenty first century museum has an exclusive claim on the concept. Colin Sorenson claims that the museum will

> be telling to people in the distant future to realise how, in our time, we have spent a lot of time creating places in which we could be together in large numbers in another time.[146]

Being together in another time has become desirable. Museums match and mirror other exhibition spaces and adopt the utopic spatial play of fairs, theme parks and shopping centres. Spaces, like Beamish, offer new sorts of memory practices, identities and socio-spatial relations. Beamish may superficially seem to fit with the spatial model of the utopia rather than the heterotopia. Irit Rogoff argues that there has been a shift away from seeing the museum as a utopia, a 'site in which society is represented in ideal form', to seeing it as a heterotopia which highlights the museum as 'countersite' in which all the other real sites that can be found in culture are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.[147] Seeing the museum as a heterotopia of memory allows for the unique combination of play with time and space offered by the living heritage museum; its combination of artifice, artefact and performance.

It is able to highlight the physicality of going to new museums spaces and the embodied and performative aspects that have as much to do with consumption as with learning.

[1] Susan Crane, *Museums and Memory* (California: Stanford University Press, 2000), p.3.
[2] The museum has been attacked by a range of writers across different times from Nietzsche to the Italian Futurists: the architectural theorist, Quatremere de Quincy worried that removing artefacts from their original settings destroys their 'networks of ideas and relations', cited in Kay F. Edge and Frank H. Weiner, 'Collective Memory and the Museum' in *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving Beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology*, ed, Ian Russell (New York: Springer, 2006), pp. 221-245. p. 227. Adorno claimed that the word 'museal' 'describes objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying…museum and mausoleum are connected by more than phonetic association.' Theodor Adorno, trans. by Samuel Weber and Shierry Weber, *Prisms*, (Massachusetts: MIT press, 1982), p. 175. Adorno was not alone in this thought, Merleau-Ponty wrote that the museum is a 'meditative necropolis' and 'the historicity of death', cited in Beth Lord 'Foucault's museum: difference, representation, and genealogy' in *Museum and Society*, 4: 1, March 2006, pp. 1-14. p. 1. A useful account of writers who have argued that the practices of museum are detrimental to memory, including a comparison of Pierre Nora and Walter Benjamin on approaches to collecting and memory, can be found in Michelle Henning, *Museums, Media and Cultural Theory* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2006), pp. 37-44 and pp. 137-140.
[3] In *The Condition of Postmodernity*, published in 1989, David Harvey claims that 'in Britain a museum opens every three weeks' (Harvey, 1989: 62).
[4] Gaynor Kavanagh, 'Making Histories, making Memories' *in Making Histories in Museums,* ed, Gaynor Kavanagh (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 1-14. p.5.
[5] Gaynor Bagnall, 'Consuming the past' in *Consumption Matters* edited by Stephen Edgell, Kevin Hetherington and Alan Warde (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), pp. 227-247; Falk, J. and L. Dierking, *Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*. (California: AltaMira Press, 2000); Christine Heath and Dirk vom Lehn, 'Configuring Reception (Dis-)Regarding the Spectator in Museums and Galleries' in *Theory Culture Society,* 21: 6, 2004, pp. 43-65.
[6] These two phrases come from, Robert Hewison who refers to the experience of heritage as like 'drowning in honey and aspic' (Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate in Decline*. London: Methuen London Ltd, 1987 p. 146) and Kevin Walsh who describes Beamish as a fantasy space. (Kevin Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and heritage in the postmodern world.* London: Routledge, 1992, p. 113).
[7] Beamish, 'What is Beamish', http://www.beamish.org.uk/about.html. Accessed 29th July 2008.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Peter Johnson and Barry Thomas, *Tourism, Museums and the Local Economy: The Economic Impact of the North of England Open Air Museum at Beamish*. (Aldershot and Vermont: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 1992), p. 10.
[10] Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate in Decline* (London: Methuen London Ltd, 1987).
[11] Ibid, 10.
[12] Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, trans. by John Cumming, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (London: Verso, 1972)
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid, p. 9.

[15] Ibid, p. 93.
[16] Ibid, p. 28.
[17] Kevin Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and heritage in the postmodern world* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 94.
[18] Ibid, p. 96 and p. 99.
[19] Ibid, p. 96.
[20] Ibid, p. 98.
[21] Ibid, p. 103.
[22] Ibid, p. 105.
[23] Ibid, pp. 98 - 99.
[24] Ibid, p. 103.
[25] Ibid, p. 113.
[26] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 125.
[27] Ibid, p. 112.
[28] Ibid, pp. 111-112.
[29] Ibid, p.111.
[30] Ibid, p.115.
[31] Ibid, p. 120.
[32] Ibid, p. 127.
[33]Alison Landsberg, 'America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy' in *New German Critique* 71, Summer 1997, pp. 63-86. p. 76.
[34] Ibid, p. 76.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid, p. 77.
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Chapter 5

Memory and Film: *Get Carter*

Film can be seen as contributing to cultural memory and to the construction of place myths. But does it makes sense, and is it useful, to think about films in the same way as we think about monuments? Can we treat films as we treat roadside shrines, monuments, and museums, as conveyers of memory? Much of our knowledge about the past comes from television and film. They work 'strategically in the articulation and codification of the cultural past'.[1] In our visually driven culture, film has become a major producer of cultural memory. If film *is* like a monument then what sort of monument is it and what sort of remembrance does it encourage? It does not have the authoritative presence of a monument such as the Cenotaph. The sort of memory film produces and the access it gives to the past is closer to the uncertainty and absence of countermemorial works, such as Rachel Whiteread's Judenplatz Holocaust Memorial.

The film discussed in this chapter is not an historical film, in the sense of a film that self-consciously seeks to represent the past. However, the narrative involves a dialectic with the past that revolves particularly around the city in which it set. At the time of its release it provided a social commentary on life in the post-industrial North East, and now it acts as a social history and documentary record of a landscape and lifestyle in Newcastle that no longer exists. This chapter discusses the way in which Newcastle upon Tyne is

represented as heterotopic in a film that has crossed over into the cultural memory of the city.

i) Film, Memory and Place

The importance of place in film can be seen in the growing literature on the subject. Interdisciplinary works combining urban theory and film studies have resulted in a wealth of material on the relationship between the cinema and the city.[2] Works such as David B. Clarke's edited collection, *The Cinematic City*, have encouraged new ways of thinking of the city so that it is now seen as a character in itself and not just as a backdrop to, or a container of, the film's action. Clarke quotes Baudrillard to support his argument that as the city shapes cinematic form, so too, cinema shapes the city.

> The American city seems to have stepped right out of the movies…To grasp its secrets, you should not, then, begin with the city and move inwards towards the screen, you should begin with the screen and move outwards towards the city.[3]

The filmic city is understood as a carrier of meaning. It works symbolically and thematically, creating and supporting emotional or psychological aspects of film. Our relationship with the city is made up of both the real and the imagined.

> Think of Florence, Paris, London, New York. Nobody visiting them for the first time is a stranger, because he's already visited them in paintings, novels, history books and films. But if a city hasn't been used by an artist not even the inhabitants live there imaginatively.[4]

Unlike the grand capitals of the world, London, New York, Paris or Rome, Newcastle, does not have a strong presence in the cinematic imagination.

Perhaps the character of Newcastle as a regional rather than an international centre translates more easily on the small screen. It has had a rich screen life on television in a succession of popular programmes: *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads* (1973)*, When the Boat Comes In* (1976)*, Auf Wierdersehen Pet* (1983)*, Spender* (1991), *Our Friends in the North* (1996)*, 55 Degrees North* (2004)*.* The character of the city seems to fit the format of a television series, with its intimate portrayal of personal relationships and small-scale dramas followed through a succession of episodes. Despite this, there are a number of notable films set in Newcastle, including *Payroll* (Sidney Hayers, 1960) *Stormy Monday* (Mike Figgis, 1988) and numerous Catherine Cookson films as well as the celebrated documentary films of the local studio, Amber Films such as *Seacoal* (1985).[5] These films, produced on an international, national or regional level, are all underpinned by the notion of the North East as a place of economic hardship and by concerns about the erosion of traditional industries.

Get Carter (Mike Hodges, 1971) can be seen as part of a genre of 'northern realism' (an aesthetic attitude as much as a geographic category) following in the tradition of 'Angry Young Man' films. The Newcastle of *Get Carter* mirrors Jack Clayton's Yorkshire in *Room at the Top* (1959); Val Guests' Manchester in *Hell is a City* (1960) and Karl Reisc's Nottingham in *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1960). These films presented new working class worlds to cinema audiences. Geoff Eley claims that by the end of the 50s '"realism" had located itself geopolitically in the industrial North as opposed to metropolitan

London'.[6] In order to create films that represented ordinary people, a different setting and environment was necessary which led filmmakers to

> the "other" England of the industrial north, which in these films was marked by landscape, language and general sensibility as radically different from the setting of Englishness.[7]

Eley's description of these settings as representing the 'other' England hints at the 'otherness' of northernness as a structuring theme in fiction and shows how the North can be thought of as heterotopic.

One recurring aspect of cites represented in fiction is how they are configured around the notions of utopia and dystopia. In the introduction to his collection of papers, David Clarke notes how some of the contributions 'crystallize the all or nothing modernist image of the city as *either* utopia or dystopia'.[8] He argues that 'Utopian and dystopian futures may still preoccupy such cultural forms as films but nobody quite believes in their reality anymore'.[9] He suggests that a shift has taken place:

> 'a transversal movement associated with both flânerie and the cinematic form that paved the way towards a postmodern condition – and towards the notion of heterotopia'.[10]

This approach reworks the binary opposition of city utopias and dystopias in the representation of the city through Foucault's concept of heterotopia.

Foucault's essay on heterotopia concentrates on real 'external' places and, as such, it does not consider the notion of heterotopic place as represented in visual culture. While he does not discuss filmic representations of space as heterotopic, he does refer to the cinema as a function of his third principle. This describes the heterotopia as 'capable of juxtaposing in a single real place

several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible'.[11] Like the theatre, the cinema brings into a single space, 'one after the other, a whole series of places that are foreign to one another':

> thus it is that the cinema is a very odd rectangular room, at the end of which, on a two-dimensional screen, one sees the projection of a three-dimensional space[12]

This account of the heterotopic cinema focuses on an explanation of the physical, spatio-temporal experience of going to and entering the cinema and seeing there other exotic, different, and varied places projected onto the screen. The concept of heterotopia can be extended from physical places directly experienced, to places, real or fictional, as represented. It can apply to the content of the film as well as the experience of cinema-going.

Other writers argue for the representations of place in film and TV as heterotopic. Douglas Muzzio and Jessica Muzzio-Rentas describe the cinematic mall as heterotopic through an analysis of the comedies, *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure* (Stephen Herek, 1989)*, Mallrats* (Kevin Smith, 1995) and the zombie classic *Dawn of the Dead* (George Romero, 1978).[13] Peter Billingham explores the representation of Canal Street in Manchester as heterotopic in the TV series *Queer as Folk* (1999).[14] Canal Street is depicted in the film as a geo-ideological space of gay, lesbian and queer formations, within this location 'lies the possibility of disruptive play and exhibitions of sexual identities which have historically been marginalized'.[15] The city is re-appropriated for the gay gaze. These filmic and televisual places are heterotopic in their otherness, in their ability to evoke and contest other places.

Newcastle in *Get Carter* functions as a place of otherness. It embodies the past and it is presented from the start and throughout the film as not-London. To see particular cinematic spaces as heterotopic helps in understanding how they enable and constrain the life-world of the characters, the transformations they undergo and the flow of the narrative.

ii) Newcastle: The Heterotopic 'craphouse'

> Why is it that this most relentless of tales [*Get Carter*] seeks the physical correlate of its narrative grimness in the North Eastern landscape. Why, in *Get Carter,* is it so grim up North?[16]

Get Carter is one of the few feature films, with worldwide release and an international star in the principal role, to be set in the city. London-based gangster Jack Carter (Michael Caine) returns home to Newcastle upon Tyne to avenge his brother's death. He learns that his brother was killed for trying to expose a ring of people involved in producing a pornographic film in which his daughter, Doreen, had appeared. Doreen could possibly be Jack Carter's daughter as a result of an affair he had with his brother's wife so that, Doreen takes on the role of niece/daughter. Carter exacts revenge on a number of the people involved in the murder of his brother and the exploitation of Doreen: Cyril Kinnear, the murderer of his brother and the producer of the film, is exposed as a pornographer to the police and framed for attempted murder; Kinnear's chauffeur, Eric Paice, who instigated Doreen's appearance in the film is murdered, as is Albert Swift who sleeps with Doreen in the pornographic film. Two women, Margaret and Glenda, are also killed for their involvement in the film. Finally, Cliff Brumby is murdered by Carter for

manipulating Frank. As a competitor of Kinnear's in the slot machine business, Brumby hoped if he told Frank about Kinnear's exploitation of Doreen it would result in Kinnear's imprisonment. The film ends with Carter's own murder by a hit man contracted by Kinnear.

All the action takes place in or close to Newcastle. However, in order to establish the oppositions that structure the film, and to position Newcastle and the North as a place of otherness and difference, the film begins with the first of only two scenes, set in London. This opening sequence establishes that Carter's brother has been murdered and that he must travel to 'the North' to find out who did it. It also serves as an opportunity to present Carter's lifestyle in London with his gangster employers, the Fletcher brothers, based on the London Kray Twins. The signifiers of a successful gangster lifestyle (whisky in crystal decanters, sharp suits, cigars, and a beautiful gangster moll) intimate Carter's moneyed life in London. London is shown to be architecturally, and culturally, superior to the world we are about to see in Newcastle. The accursed city in *Get Carter* is full of poverty and vice that evokes the past. The scene sets up the distinctions that frame the film between London, the world of Carter's present, and Newcastle, the world of his and our past. The scene which the director, Mike Hodges, wanted to 'appear as a dream', opens with an external shot of Carter standing at the window of a penthouse flat. It is night and the window is the only light so that he is dramatically silhouetted. Hodges explained

> I wanted it to be up high so that I could make it appear like a dream actually, and because there's no light around that window it has a kind of ethereal quality as if he's already up in heaven in a way.[17]

It has a surreal and detached mood and it is tempting to read the remainder of the film as a dream or wish-fulfillment of a morally lost and renegade son returning to die at home. This scene, and the next, locate Carter as caught between two worlds, inevitably drawn back to his home and his past. The film follows a rite of passage narrative that sees Carter occupying a liminal space on the threshold between life and death. This first 'dream' or 'heaven' scene establishes the space-time of the film to be shaped by Carter's psycho-geography, in which the landscape the narrator traverses is outside all real times and all real places and represents a traumatic topography of both Carter's repressed memories and the nation's blighted industrial past.

The train journey North is shown and is a key scene in the creation of suspense and apprehension about the world Carter will enter. Shot with a hand-held camera, the scene plays over the opening credits and (literally) sets the narrative in motion. The journey is a succession of tunnels and the effect is to create rapid changes of sound and a series of movements between light and dark as the train travels in and out of the tunnels. Each tunnel creates the feeling that Carter is moving further away from his life in London, from a known place towards a place of unknowability and mystery.

In contrast to the seminal train films of the Lumière brothers and of Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin: The Symphony of the Great City* (1927), in *Get Carter* the train arrives in darkness, the camera catches no approaching sights and no iconic symbols. Early filmmakers, such as the Lumière brothers, wanted to capture the sensory quality of the modern world on film. Train films were often

used to present moving images of landscape and to show an unfolding cityscape. These films captured the thrilling new practices and experiences of modernity for audiences who were exhilarated by these new modes of perception and travel. By the 1970s the 'train film' has taken on new meanings.[18]

In *Get Carter*, we are headed nowhere. On the journey Carter is tense, we see him taking pills and using eye drops. He reads the Raymond Chandler novel, *Farewell my Lovely,* indicating the films indebtedness to film noir and signalling the mood and perhaps the fate of the characters. Though we are yet to discover it, the hit-man who will eventually kill Carter shares his carriage. As soon as Carter leaves London he is travelling towards his death. His careful attention to his medication, food and appearance on the journey are efforts to ward off what has already been set in motion. The journey north, the journey to Newcastle, means death. Carter has begun to cross over the threshold from life to death. The remaining action of the film is confined to a long weekend as Carter will survive for just three days in his hometown. Newcastle as heterotopia opens onto another time and another space. It presents the time and space of liminality.[19]

When he arrives, we are informed that he is in Newcastle by the sign on the railway platform. This places us in a real city among ordinary people. Wolfgang Suschitzky, director of the film's photography has said that the film was pioneering in its use of location and local actors.[20] The first location shot, in the long bar, is typical of the rest of the film. The world he enters is bleak

and harsh and populated by the down-trodden, the depressed and the corrupt. Any hint of glamour or fun is gaudy and tasteless. Almost everyone appears either suspicious and dour or drunk and salacious. Hodges researched the film by visiting working men's clubs and was directly involved in the selection of extras who looked appropriately dysfunctional.[21] Both he and Caine described the people and the place as Dickensian and Hogarthian. Newcastle, for Hodges, is 'filled with amazing Hogarthian faces'[22] and Caine reassesses the relative poverty of his own childhood after visiting Newcastle:

> 'I had never witnessed misery like this in my own country; it was Charles Dickens meets Emily Brontë, written by Edgar Wallace'.[23]

The film exploits the well-established persona of Caine the film star. His association with Swinging London as the lead in films such as the *Ipcress File* (Sidney J. Furie, 1965) and *Alfie* (Lewis Gilbert, 1966) emphasizes his outsider quality. He embodies different values. With this public reputation, Caine playing Carter, makes us conscious of this other site. As Carter, and Caine, he simultaneously occupies two worlds, Newcastle and London, North and South. This vacillation creates the tension of the film. The edits between Caine and the close-ups of the locals emphasize their bizarreness and the difference between them and Carter's metropolitan cool competence.

Get Carter presents a story of a dangerous, displaced London gangster who travels to a backward and uncultured world. Chibnall has made the analogy with imperial narratives that see the Englishman going to deal with restless natives.[24] It adds to a well-established literary tradition of casting the North against the South as uncultured, poor and parochial. In the 1960s, a period of

social progress, the representation of swinging London in *Billy Liar* (1963) and *Darling* (1965) sets up a stark division between North and South which is thematized in *Get Carter*. However, this opposition is problematized by the fact that this stagnant and demoralized place is the protagonist's home and so cannot be easily rejected. The film is a variation on the theme of return. Dave Russell discusses three main ways in which the North/South divide is represented through different homecomings. Inward journeys made

> 'either by "outsiders" coming to live among strange people or by a "local" returning home with, or in search of, a new perspective, while the third focused on the outward path taken by the aspiring northerner.'[25]

Russell notes that the people who return, and those who never leave, are depicted as if they suffered from a 'deplorable eccentricity'.[26] Carter is both insider and outsider. Chibnall has said that casting Caine as Carter means that the film seems to work 'equally well with both Tyneside and Thameside audiences, as an emblem of local masculine pride'.[27] This dual heritage suggests another possible heterotopic functioning of space in the film.

David Harvey discusses Foucault's notion of heterotopia in relation to postmodern fiction and cites Brain McHale's use of the concept to describe sci-fi environments as places in which characters are confused by the world they inhabit.[28] Harvey uses the film *Blue Velvet* (David Lynch, 1986) as an example of a film that presents two quite incongruous worlds. The fictive space of *Blue Velvet* is one in which the characters ask 'what world is this?'[29] Harvey emphasizes the shocking incompatibility of the two spaces, ('it seems impossible that these two worlds should exist in the same space')[30] and that the tensions in the film comes from the knowledge that 'eventually the two

worlds collide in a terrible denouement'.[31] Foucault's concept highlights the simultaneity and juxtaposition that mark our experience of place: 'we are in…the epoch of near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed'.[32]

Antony Easthope argues that cinematic modes of utopia and dystopia, are informed by a 'sense of temporality and history' and the 'assumption that we are moving towards a world which is either much better or much worse'.[33] Visions of both utopia and dystopia are considered as a way of commenting on the present. A new cinematic mode whose beginnings are traced to the 1960s sees films that are less interested in establishing a utopian or a dystopian view of the city. In these new modes Easthope claims 'temporality gives way to spatiality, history to simultaneity, juxtaposition and heterotopia'.[34] Films such as *Blow-Up* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1966) imply how several epistemologically incompatible spaces might be juxtaposed simultaneously and how opposed frames of representation might be represented together. Easthope argues that films such as *Blue Velvet* and *Blow-Up* prevent us from,

> discriminating firmly between the apparent and the real, surface and depth, light and dark. Rather we are encouraged to think of the two moral dimensions of the city as present simultaneously in the same physical space.[35]

Caine as Carter embodies the simultaneity of the near and far, the past and the present and enables us to think difference together.

Part of Easthope's argument lies in his claim that there is a new loss of nostalgia in these films. If nostalgia describes a kind of homesickness, Jack's return home is not one marked by this emotion. *Get Carter* is based on a novel by Ted Lewis entitled 'Jack's Return Home' which, while certainly not as

effective as the film title, reveals the thematic importance of 'the return home'. The notion of returning home has always been a powerful trope and structures many paradigmatic dramas from Homer's *Odyssey* to *The Wizard of Oz.* Carter is inexorably drawn back to the city, and back to the past that he had escaped but there is no nostalgia here. The whole presentation of life and landscape in *Get Carter* shows a rejection of 1950s' filmic representation of working class life and of the popular culture admired by cultural theorists such as Richard Hoggart, E. P Thompson and Raymond Williams.[36] Chibnall argues that *Get Carter* does not invite the audience to identify with, or to romanticize the working class people portrayed in the film.[37] So whilst it may draw on the filmic techniques of documentary social realism and focus on issues of social deprivation it lacks the affection of the films of Flaherty, Grierson, Reisz, Richardson or Davies.[38] *Get Carter* represents Newcastle as 'a necropolis, a cheerless city of coffins and hearses' in contrast to the community and comradeship usually associated with the urban North.[39] The poverty in *Get Carter's* Newcastle is both material and spiritual.

The internal sickness and moral corruption of the characters are symbolized in the markers of the industrial North; a brutalist landscape of nineteenth century houses on steep cobbled streets, shipyards, scrap-yards, derelict quayside, railways, and the high-rise car park. The internal locations including Carter's family home, shot in a condemned house in Benwell, and the run-down 'hotel' he stays at, calling itself 'Las Vegas', are crumbling and neglected. The gangster Kinnear's stately home, the betting shops and pubs are dens of vice. Everything about Newcastle is unstylish and antiquated. Roy

Budd's minimal and haunting soundtrack is accompanied by a perpetually howling wind and the wailing of foghorns.

Here home, a Northern city, is repeatedly connected with shit, sex and death.[40] Chibnall has noted that toilets feature in the film as often as bedrooms, characters are locked inside them and killed outside them. The word 'shit' is used repeatedly throughout the film and a chamber pot placed underneath the bed beside a shotgun is used for rare comedic effect.[41] The scene in which Carter describes the city as a 'craphouse' takes place on the High Level Bridge. The quayside bridges are the landmarks most associated with Newcastle so that Carter's disgust and the film's preoccupation with corruption, pornography and decay are explicitly linked to the city.

Sex too, in the film is polarized by the north/south divide. In London, Carter has been having an affair with Anna, the wife of his boss, Gerald Fletcher. The character is played by the glamorous and seductive Britt Ekland. In the North Carter has two one-night-stands, one with the aging owner of the Las Vegas boarding house and one with Geraldine Moffat who is as sexy, but not as glamorous, as Ekland. She is, however, degraded by her part in the pornographic films involving Doreen. While sex is one of the few energies left alive in this stultifying city there are no gentle relationships in the film. The one moment at which Carter shows any real emotion in the film and the moment at which he is motivated to kill, is when he watches the pornographic film in which Doreen appears. Exploitative sex in the film symbolizes the wider corruption of the weak by the powerful.

Death is always present from the opening scenes of the film. In London we see Carter erased or cut out of sight by a drawn curtain, which Hodges describes as a kind of premonition ('curtains for Caine'),[42] and the presence of the hit-man shadowing Carter on the train ensures the inevitability of Carter's fate. After the scene in the long bar, Carter goes to the crumbling family home to spend the night there before the funeral the next day. He shares the decaying house with his brother's corpse and shaves over his body in the morning. Death is to be found everywhere, in home and the city. After the funeral, the viewer is given a first glimpse of what is now an almost entirely lost Gateshead and Newcastle – serried rows of crumbling back-to-backs sloping down to Scotswood Road and the Tyne and the smoking chimneys beyond. Chibnall has said that 'if the funeral is Frank's, the elegy is equally for the old city and the passing of an era'.[43] Carter's own death at the end of the film takes place at Blackhall Beach in County Durham. This grim, black beach is a sea coal site where waste from the Durham coalfield was dumped into the sea. Shot on a 'horrendous winter's day', director Mike Hodges described the site as an 'absolute vision of hell'.[44] Chibnall refers to it in his book as 'terminal beach', at which the anti-hero protagonist meets his end.[45] Discarded vehicles lie embedded in the sand, left by those who scavenge for coal brought in by the tide, turning the beach into a 'kind of graveyard'.[46] The cable skips that carry slag out to be dumped in the ocean are used by Carter to dispose of Eric's body and then Carter himself is shot, suddenly and without warning.

So while homecomings are associated with place and nostalgia, home and the past for Carter are sites of tension. Barber describes postwar films that depict cities as places of fragmentation and instability.[47] After the wars, newsreel footage of soldiers returning to a reception from elated crowds was of central importance to a sense of closure to the conflicts and a return to normal life. This was a scene often reconstructed in films following periods of conflict. However, the 'homes' to which soldiers returned, were often unrecognizable to them.[48] This experience and the massive regeneration and clearing projects that took place after the war, resulted in cities being conceived as places of exile and displacement. Urban centres are places in which people are lost in harsh environments. Barber states:

> The filmic depiction of exile in the city encompassed that of its transitory or nomadic inhabitants, caught momentarily within the hostile and expulsive system of a particular place.[49]

Chibnall has noted that Carter is a 'socially marginal character, a displaced person, his social and geographical mobility suggested by the train journey he takes'.[50] This view of Carter as an exiled or nomadic figure can be seen as part of the preoccupation with the notion of exile that Barber suggests developed in post-war film-making. Post-war European cinematic urban space began to be perceived with both 'nostalgia and ferocity…as a ruined zone'.[51] It has been argued that postwar filmmaking fundamentally changed the way in which urban space was represented and inhabited.[52]

However, perhaps closer comparisons can be made with the American genres – the Western and film noir. The tense relationship between the protagonist and his hometown has also been the basis for comparisons with

these genres that have a intimate relationship with place. Chibnall claims that, in *Get Carter,* Newcastle is presented as having a 'frontier quality' with Carter acting as the lone gunslinger come to town.[53] The emphasis on individualism is presented through Carter's remorseless movements though the city as he determines to enact justice and settle his scores. The use and presentation of space populated by exploited women and gangsters, serves the characterization and mood of the film and defines our hero's purpose.

His own moral ambiguity aligns him even more closely with the existential heroes of film noir. *Get Carter* is an investigation into the 'murky backwater of the unconscious' but lacks the representational techniques of film noir, chiaroscuro styling, and shadowy mise-en-scene. The noirish mood of the film is derived from the dislocation of Carter's identity, his fascination and disgust with his hometown. Carter's journey is one that he hopes can free him from his past which continues to cast a determining shadow over his life. Characters condemned to repeat the past are a common feature of film noir. The cyclical nature of the story situates Carter as inevitably doomed and trapped. In the DVD commentary Hodges explains Carter's relationship to his past and the city:

> The social content of this film is built into it. It's not a political statement but it's an integral part of the picture that if you are brought up in these horrible situational circumstances like Jack was, you're not going to go back there once you're out of there, once you've escaped. If he has to become a criminal, if he has to become a murderer, he will never, ever be reduced to the circumstances of his childhood.[54]

And yet he goes back.

As with characters such as Philip Marlowe, Sam Spade and more recently, Jack Gittes, Carter is unable to securely locate himself in the present and so is essentially homeless. Krutnik has said of film noir that the characters are often homeless, they 'find themselves with nowhere to run, nowhere to hide, nowhere to call home'.[55] In *Carter* there is a problematizing of the certainty of 'home', signaled by an absence of family relations. Carter's family relationships are not stable or gratifying. His parents do not appear in the film and are never mentioned. He shows very little emotion about his brother's death. His revenge is motivated not by family loyalty or grief but by retaliation for the disrespect he has been shown. Both family and home are denied to Carter. Doreen, the ambiguous niece/daughter, who should be the young hope of the film, is a defeated and dejected figure who has been lured into a demeaning way of life. Once the civic avarice and incestual sexuality have been exposed by Carter, there is no hope of salvation or future left to the viewer, particularly as the hero is as much a part of the problem as the solution.

Get Carter displays a kind of Northern noir in representing a place in which nothing can ever come to any good, where the individual struggles to master the unmappable city and place temporary order on chaos. For Carter, the return to Newcastle is forced and regrettable. He knowingly sets in motion a chain of events that he must know will get him killed but he has no options. Jack is fated because of his return.

In *Get Carter*, Newcastle is presented as a place of otherness. Its otherness is derived form its connection with a bad past, Carter's and the industrial city's. Robert Towne, the scriptwriter of *Chinatown,* has described Chinatown as 'a state of mind –the hero's fucked-up state of mind'.[56] Newcastle in *Get Carter* could equally be described as a 'state of mind'. Newcastle's starring role is to provide a sense of heterotopic space. The region and Carter himself are in a state of purgatory, a place of misery and of transition. Carter's approach to the city and his movement through it constitute 'systems of openings and closings' and 'expose other places as illusory'.[57]

iii) Screening Time in the City

In England, the historic film is associated with the 'heritage film' and period dramas. A movement which Geoffrey Eley calls 'the political project of…forgetting' in which the working class are 'dehistoricized' and 'depoliticized' across the media in films, TV, autobiography, fiction and 'all manner of public imagery including most obviously the tourism-directed national heritage industry'.[58] Norman M. Klein supports this view by claiming that these modes erase urban locales throughout the world. *Get Carter* functions as what Klein has called 'anti-tourism' that refers to the collective myths or collective imaginaries of a city created by writers and filmmakers.[59] *Get Carter* can be included as part of the northern realist films that present that 'other England'.[60] The side of Britain that people did not want to see has now become a source of nostalgic interest – 'a concrete park in search of a preservation order'.[61] The city is presented as a place of excess and

dislocation. Confrontational in its style, imagery and themes, the film gives scope, through its spatial play, to metaphorical or allegorical interpretation.

A comment by producer, Michael Klinger, shows how the production team intended the city to play a central role in the film:

> We love the dramatic way in which the old is mixed with the new in Newcastle. We love the river bridges, the way in which the city is built on different levels. And the people...they are incredibly nice without being phoney. Newcastle will be one of the stars of the [film]…as much a part of the action as Paris in *Rififi*, San Francisco in *Bullitt*, Los Angeles in *Harper.*[62]

Mike Hodges' description of the moment he arrived in Newcastle and realized it would be the setting for his film, (the novel on which the film is based is set in Scunthorpe, Humberside) reveals his search for a location that could represent a disappearing landscape and lifestyle on which the film's themes are dependent.

> We pressed on and came to Newcastle. The visual drama of the place took my breath away. Seeing the great bridges crossing the Tyne, the waterfront, the terraced houses stepped up each side of the deep valley, I knew that Jack was home. And although the developers were breathing down the Scotswood Road, they hadn't gobbled it up. We'd got there just in time. But only just. [63]

The power of the film is in capturing this moment. Its increased popularity is not due to its plot (which is obscure) nor to its characters (who are stereotypical and charmless) but to its sense of place, and to the threat of its disappearance. The key reason for the cult status of the film and the position it has come to occupy in cultural memory is its representation of Newcastle as a heterotopic city - as not-London, as the past, as home but alien. Hodges claims that he had already visited Hull as a possible location but found the world he was in search of already gone. He was aware of the crucial

importance of finding a location that could represent a major theme of the film - the transformation of our environments and their relationship with memory.

The activities of the Get Carter Appreciation Society also show an engagement with the film that reveal its importance as a source of local identity and memory. The Society marked the thirtieth anniversary of the film's location shooting by re-enacting various scenes in Newcastle and Gateshead on 28 July 2000. Local fans enjoy the representation of Tyneside untouched by the sanitizing and gentrification processes that mark our current landscape. The car park, which in the film represents the new eclipsing the old, is now mourned by nostalgic fans as the old giving way to the new. The film represents the world we have lost, rather than the design-conscious environments in which we now live. Chibnall writes: 'The film carried the essences of the past, honest and unrefined in their depiction of dishonesty and lack of refinement.'[64] One fan, Michael Brady, born the same year *Get Carter* was filmed, has created a website that identifies all the locations used in *Get Carter.*[65] He lived two streets away from the terrace in Benwell where Frank Carter's house was situated, and, for him, the film acts as a way of mapping a city that no longer exists and which he otherwise would not remember. It effectively reconstructs the geographical ambience of his childhood. For Geordie fans like Brady, the film negotiates the gulf between the public and the private, the present and the past. Brady's website arranges film stills alongside contemporary photographs of the same locations in an effort to capture the changes that have taken place in the city and to map a personal remembrance through the film. The photographs below show

Michael Caine standing at the top of Hugh Street in 1970 and Brady as a toddler standing at the top of Maugne street in 1972.[66] These streets were next to each other. Dunston power station can be seen in the background on both.

One of the film's key scenes centres on the fear of rapid urban change and on a suspicion of those implementing them. The sequence shows the Gateshead car park from which the corrupt local businessman Brumby is thrown to his death. It is the only location, at which Carter shows any concern for wider social issues. The scene reveals Carter's hatred of social inequality, his anger at the predicament of poor and deprived people and his dislike of the creative professionals who are compromised by their willingness to serve corrupt business interests. This scene is the nearest Carter gets to taking up a political position. The car park scenes represent a brave new world, the shattering of the old world and traditional values.

The real-life Trinity Car Park, or as it is now known by locals, the 'Carter Car Park', was a building for the future that never happened: it has not been a success. Although it was built in 1969, only two years before *Get Carter* was

filmed, this modernist monster was already beginning to look run-down and disused. Built from raw concrete in a brutalist style it is an example of socially engineered architecture and represents the utopian vision of the new architecture of the time. *Get Carter* acts as a kind of premonition of the scandal and corruption that became public in the years after its release. Labour Councillor, T. Dan Smith (known as 'Mr Newcastle') and the architect, John Poulson, together controlled the building contracts for new public and private sector developments in the city. Smith's firm had received many of the contracts available in the North East and he had also been paid large sums for supplying business to Poulson. Both were eventually jailed for corruption, It was in 1974 that Smith was charged with accepting bribes and sentenced to six years imprisonment, but rumours had been circulating as the script for *Get Carter* was being written. Cliff Brumby and his car park symbolize the wider corruption, real and fictional, in the area at the time.

In the DVD commentary of the scene Hodges reflects on the relationship between urban change and memory:

> Everything is in transition. You get the sense that everything is being pulled down and reconstructed, and it's got a temporary feeling about it […] It's a city on the cusp, a city that is going to be irredeemably changed. It's about people's memory. I'm terribly sentimental about places in my life I can't go back to a lot of the places I was a child in…I find it terribly painful going there because it's just been so changed, I feel that about my country too. It's painful, it affects me.[67]

Walter Benjamin believed that fiction created about cities is always related to memories

> To portray a city, a native must have other, deeper, motives – motives of one who travels into the past instead of into the distance. A native's book about his city will always be related to memoirs; the writer has not spent his childhood there in vain.[68]

This belief can be seen in Hodges own reflections on the film and his childhood and those of the fans. The website and the activities of the Appreciation Society use the film to capture a social imaginary about the vanishing city. This is particularly interesting given that the protagonist's relationship to the past and his hometown is marked by an emotional amnesia. His reluctance to remember is reflected in a topology of forgetfulness and shows the North as somewhere already lost.

In his discussion of postwar European films, Stephen Barber has argued that film has 'exhaustively captured periods of urban upheaval and transformation throughout cinema's history' in a way that shows a 'preoccupation with memory, death and the origins of the image that crucially interlock cinema with urban space'.[69] He claims that in the city films of this period, itinerant characters often subsist in a state of suspension, attempting to block the visual force of memory – above all the cultural memory of the upheavals of the 1960s, but also the 'immediate memory of the present moments, which insistently demands a re-imagining of the city'.[70] By mapping representations of urban space through cinematic history Barber suggests that film has explored the ways in which the city's inhabitants respond to vast changes in visual technologies, to architectural transmutations and to destabilizing flux within essential urban structures.[71] Walter Benjamin reflects that 'only film commands optical approaches to the essence of the city'.[72] It can capture the flow, energy and diversity of civic and commercial life. There is a particular character to the public's desire to see these lost worlds on film. It is neither a

simple enjoyment of historical drama nor a political interest in social realism. It explains the recent critical and worldwide success of Terence Davies *Of Time and the City* (2008), described as 'love song and a eulogy'[73] to Liverpool in the 1950s and 1960s, and the popularity of the Mitchell and Kenyon Collection of film footage of Edwardian England. A similar fascination animates the response to *Get Carter*.

Chibnall has described *Get Carter* as showing 'the death before the rebirth of the region in a post-industrial age'.[74] It has provided a filmic memory of the city that allows, as Barber says, an opportunity for its inhabitants to appreciate the changes it has undergone. The heterotopic nature of the film makes it conducive to retrospective viewing. It resonates with local fans in particular as can be seen through their active appropriation of its spaces and images. It has allowed audiences a way of reconfiguring deep-seated cultural myths about Newcastle and the North. *Get Carter* was taken up again in the 1990s as a cult film because of its extreme representation of Newcastle and its past. It has frozen the iconography of Newcastle in the 1970s and captured the vanished social and industrial relations of the industrial North. Chris Rile of the Appreciation Society for *Get Carter* believes that the film 'is an archive of the north east in the 1960s and its legacy needs to be preserved for future generations'.[75]

The film now stands for the decline of the industrial North East and acts as a premonition of the forthcoming political scandal, the irresponsibilities of corrupt town planners and the Thatcherite closures of the region's

manufacturing and coalmining base. The intervening decades have put a reassuring distance between the world of the film and current local processes of identification. It is affection for the North East and the idiosyncrasies of personal biography that makes the film significant to the individual.

The role of Newcastle, as the central character of *Get Carter,* depends on the dialectical involvement of film and viewer. The way Newcastle functions in the film as a series of thresholds and contrasts through which Carter moves is mirrored by the viewers' experience in watching the film.[76] The city as presented in *Get Carter* symbolizes the experience of alienation and disorientation of modern urban living. The success of the film lies in its capacity to bear this meaning for audiences who have no attachment to the city, because it expresses the creative tension between city and memory.

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[1] Paul Grainge, *Memory and Popular Film* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003) p4.
[2] See for example: *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context* eds, Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (Oxford and New York: Blackwell, 2001); Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice, *Screening the City* (London and New York: Verson, 2003); Alsayyad Nezar, *Cinematic Urbanism: A History of the Modern from Reel to Real* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); Maria Balshaw and Liam Kennedy, *Urban Space and Representation* (London: Pluto Press, 2000); James Donald, *Imagining the Modern City* (London: Athlone, 1999); John Orr, *Cinema and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).
[3] Jean Baudrillard (1988: 56) cited in David B. Clarke, 'Introduction' in *The Cinematic City* edited David B. Clarke (London and New York: Routledge, 1997). p.1.
[4] Lanark Gray (1981:243) cited in David B. Clarke, 'Introduction' in *The Cinematic City* edited David B. Clarke (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 19.
[5] For a fuller discussion of the North East in film and TV see Dave Russell, *Looking North: Northern England and the National Imagination* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004).
[6] Geoff Eley, 'Distant Voices, Still Lives. The Family is a Dangerous Place: Memory, Gender, and the Image of the Working Class,' in Robert A. Rosenstone (ed.) *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past* (New Jersey and Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1995) pp. 17-43. p. 21.
[7] Geoff Eley, 'Distant Voices, Still Lives. The Family is a Dangerous Place: Memory, Gender, and the Image of the Working Class,' in Robert A. Rosenstone (ed.) *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past* (New Jersey and Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1995) p. 17-43. p. 19.

[8] David B. Clarke, 'Introduction' in *The Cinematic City* edited David B. Clarke (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 1-19. p.6.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Foucault, 2002a, p. 233.
[12] Ibid, p. 229.
[13] Douglas Muzzio and Jessica Muzzio-Rentas, 'A Kind of Instinct': The Cinematic Mall as Heteropia' in *Heterotopia in the City: Public Space in a Postcivil Society* eds, Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). pp. 137-149.
[14] Peter Billingham, *Sensing the City Through Television* (Bristol: Intellect Books 2003)
[15] Ibid, p. 119.
[16] Peter Hutchings, '"When the going gets tough…": Representations of the North-East in Film and Television' in *Northumbrian Panorama: Studies in the History and Culture of North East England* edited by T. E Faulkner (London: Octavian Press, 1996). p. 273-290. p. 277.
[17] *Get Carter* commentary, Warner Home Video, DVD, 2005.
[18] For a interesting discussion of 'train films' see Stephen Barber, *Projected Cities: Cinema and Urban Space* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002).
[19] This term is described in footnote 81 of Chapter 1.
[20] *Get Carter* commentary, Warner Home Video, DVD, 2005.
[21] Ibid
[22] Cited in Steve Chibnall, *Get Carter* (London and New York: I.B Tauris, 2003). p. 35.
[23] Cited in Chibnall, p. 36.
[24] Ibid, p. 98.
[25] Russell, p. 95.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid, p. 99.
[28] Harvey, p. 48.
[29] Ibid, p. 48.
[30] Ibid, p. 48.
[31] Ibid, p. 48.
[32] Foucault, 2002a, p. 229.
[33] Antony Easthope, 'Cinécities in the Sixties' in *The Cinematic City* edited David B. Clarke (London and New York: Routledge, 1997). pp. 129-139, p. 132.
[34] Ibid, p. 136.
[35] Ibid, p. 129.
[36] Their key texts include: Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982); Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1962); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Classes* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963).
[37] Chibnall p. 10
[38] Ibid, p. 10.
[39] Ibid, p. 10.
[40] Ibid, p. 67.
[41] Ibid, p. 13.
[42] *Get Carter* commentary, Warner Home Video, DVD, 2005.
[43] Chibnall, p. 54.
[44] *Get Carter* commentary, Warner Home Video, DVD, 2005.
[45] Chibnall, p. 48.
[46] *Get Carter* commentary, Warner Home Video, DVD, 2005.
[47] Barber, p. 58.
[48] Barber, p. 58. Barber lists films made in Soviet-occupied East Germany that portray 'lost populations' and 'hazardous interstitial landscapes' arguing that a 'fundamental mismatch between the damaged corporeal and architectural elements of the city emerged: on their return, the displaced bodies and voices of the city would no longer cohere with its surfaces and facades in ways that had been possible before the conflict. The sense of European 'home' had been shattered'.
[49] Ibid, p. 62.
[50] Chibnall, p. 49.
[51] Barber, p. 8.

[52] Barber writes 'A unique film language of the devastated city locked together the cities of Europe and Japan at that moment, from Berlin and London to Hiroshima and Tokyo, and shaped the ways in which cinema would approach urban forms internationally in the case after the war. The film city and its inhabitants now began to emanate an aura of precarious insubstantiality'. p. 57.
[53] Chibnall, p. 6.
[54] *Get Carter* commentary, Warner Home Video, DVD, 2005.
[55] Frank Krutnik, 'Something More Than Night: Tales of the Noir City' in *The Cinematic City* edited David B. Clarke (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 83-109. p. 88.
[56] Eaton, p.13.
[57] Foucault, 2002a, p. 235
[58] Eley, p. 31.
[59] Klein The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory (London and New York: Verso), 1997.
[60] Eley, p. 19.
[61] Chibnall, p. 112.
[62] Cited in Chibnall, p. 37.
[63] Cited in Steve Chibnall, *Get Carter* (London and New York: I.B Tauris, 2003). pp. 24-25.
[64] Ibid, p. 97.
[65] Michael Brady, 'The Get Carter Tour' [online] http://www.getcartertour.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/getcarter/. Accessed 20 December 2008.
[66] These photographs are used with the permission of Mr Brady.
[67] *Get Carter* commentary, Warner Home Video, DVD, 2005.
[68] Norman M. Klein The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory (London and New York: Verso, 1997). p. 235.
[69] Barber, p. 7.
[70] Ibid, p. 91.
[71] Ibid, p. 8.
[72] Cited in Graeme, Gilloch, *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), p. 18.
[73] A Terence Davies Film, *Of Time and the City* [online] http://www.oftimeandthecity.com/. Accessed 15 April 2009.
[74] Chibnall, p. 98.
[75] Chibnall, p. 98.
[76] Foucault, 2002a, p. 235

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Two dominant approaches have developed in memory studies that deal with the relation between memory and place: one treats the specially designed 'memoryscapes' (shrines, memorials, public art, museums) as texts to be read,[1] and the other focuses on embodied performances, rituals of memory and the serendipitous encounter with memory traces embedded in the landscape.[2] The latter emphasizes practice, interaction, movement and events; the former is concerned primarily with representation and readership.

The thesis has drawn on both these approaches through the analysis of case studies. Roadside memorials, war memorials, public art and museums are all sites that can be 'read'. The signs that they employ can be identified and interpreted, but their significance and multiplicity can be understood only through the way in which these spaces are practised, performed and lived on special occasions and in everyday life. The chapter on the film *Get Carter* presents a different sort of memory study as it is concerned with a work of fiction, rather than a physical place. However, the film is of interest, not only because it has contributed significantly to the popular memory of Newcastle, but also because its presentation of the city is essential to the dramatic themes of the narrative. Furthermore, the guided tours of Carter's landscape and the struggle over the planning policies of the *Get Carter* car park illustrate

how representations of place feed into and intersect with the practice of lived space.

Rob Shields' work applies Lefebvre's notion of representational space to imaginaries created by contemporary artists, writers, filmmakers and advertisers.[3] Extending this model a further step, the thesis argues that memory spaces also contribute to the real and imagined aspects of the spaces in which they are located. Roadside memorials, public art, monuments, museums, and films are part of the narratives and the imaginative ways of seeing the city. However, treating them merely as texts would not accommodate the way in which they are physical sites that are used and negotiated within the city.

As with Lefebvre's concept of 'trialectics' and Edward Soja's notion of 'thirdspace', Foucault's heterotopic model of space seeks to explain how space is experienced.[4] However, it can add a more specific understanding of the peculiarities of memory spaces. Used as a tool for understanding sites of memory it can provide a number of important insights into the nature of memory and how it shapes, and is shaped by, the spaces it inhabits: it provides a technique - by offering a third way out of the binaries that have unhelpfully organized sites into good or bad places for memory; it helps articulate the otherness and difference of memory spaces; it identifies the multiplicity of interpretations at sites; it attaches itself to real places and, in this way, is particularly amenable to cultural studies analyses.

i) The Chapters

It is important to find new ways to discuss the sites with which the thesis is concerned because they have all been characterized as damaging to memory. For example, roadside memorials have been criticized as sentimental, crass and morbid because of the way they employ commodities - the ultimate signs of reification and amnesia - to express private grief in public spaces. Although it could be argued that they represent the most topical and active form of memorializing that the thesis considers, there has been very little academic interest in roadside memorials in England.[5] Most of the criticism of them is found in articles by newspaper and TV journalists who perceived a change in the mood of memorializing after Princess Diana's death.[6] The subject deserves more serious treatment than the cynical and flippant criticisms that they normally receive from the broadsheets. The chapter demonstrates how these highly personalized, ephemeral and transitory sites of memory can illuminate the broader characteristics of contemporary memory spaces.

Questioning whether the home, as the first 'house of memory', is still the most important site for the performance of the body/space/object nexus, Chapter 2 notes the increase in practices of memorializing that occur outside of this private space. However, the importance of the object and of materiality, assumed to be in decline in an age characterized by immateriality and simulation, is crucial even at these new memory sites. The memorials share the iconography of private remembrance in a way that enacts a collapse between private and public space. As spaces that are transformed by death,

they introduce a sacred landscape into the ordinary and the everyday and act as thresholds for the communication between the living and the dead. The chapter does not follow the romanticism of other works by celebrating roadside memorials only for their aspects of 'marginality' or 'subversion'.[7] The sites may represent a gentle critique of traditional forms of memorializing, but they do not negate them entirely. In fact, the significance of roadside memorials comes from the way they are in dialogue with, and incorporate aspects of, other memorial spaces that they exist alongside.

War memorials, a subject of Chapter 3, have been accused of encouraging forgetting rather than remembrance and have been largely dismissed as hegemonic tools of the state.[8] The chapter argues that top-down explanations, such as these, fail to account for the complex processes that have gone into the commission, use and interpretation of these sites. It also proposes a positive account of contemporary public art that has been seen as contributing to 'blandscapes' and marginalizing local residents and their memories.[9] The local re-appropriation of the *Angel* and the *Baltic*, and an acknowledgement of the other spaces of public memorial art in the city, counters the criticism that the city cannot house memory and that all places have become homogenous. By considering a wider range of spaces, and by assessing the way the sites relate to one another, the chapter shows how public memorial art provides a way of mapping the region's relationship with the past and produces a discursive space that contributes to an understanding of the city in a time of intense change.

Chapter 4 deals with the criticisms of Beamish, the living history museum, that accuse it of sidelining politics and sanitizing the past.[10] Through attention to the ways in which visitors engage with the site, the chapter reassessed what other authors have seen as merely a sentimental and nostalgic escape through the commodification of the past. Beamish, offers the opportunity for a performance-based engagement with the past that can produce personal *and* political, positive *and* negative memories. As a space of difference the museum allows for a unique memory experience.

Finally, film, along with photography and television, has been criticized as generating powerful 'screen memories' that distort our sense of the past.[11] The relationship between memory and film has been discussed along two lines. A significant amount of literature considers issues of presentation and ethics - how different genres depict the past (historical drama, costume drama, documentary, mockumentary or docudramas) and their relation to notions of authenticity, accuracy and realism. A smaller body of work exists in relation to films that use memory as a central theme. Fears of amnesia and memory control which have been a recurring feature of science fiction films, for example *Blade Runner* (Ridley Scott, 1982) and *Total Recall* (Paul Verhoeven 1999), are now used more generally to represent the fragmentation of personal experience in films like *Memento* (Christopher Nolan, 2000)*, Bourne Identity* (Doug Liman, 2002) and *The Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind* (Michel Gondry, 2004).

Chapter 5 looks at a third aspect of the relationship between memory and film. It deals with the way in which Newcastle, as it appears in *Get Carter*, functions as a site of the past. The city's ominous role is a major element in the film and it explains why local fans find the film so compelling. Representing the city as a place of otherness, it expresses the sense of regional difference that is a characteristic of the North East. Furthermore, watching the film now, nearly 40 years after its release, encourages a self-conscious awareness of the changes in the city that were prefigured in the film.

Pierre Nora's account of the move from *milieux de mémoire* ('real environments of memory') to *lieux de mémoire* ('sites of memory') has established a way of seeing modern memory as increasingly commodified and depthless. His insistence that a shift has taken place, and that, in the process, memory has been 'torn', fails to recognize the development of active memory at these sites and places too much emphasis in a belief in a prelapsarian account of memory.[12] Once the weaknesses of Nora's approach are recognized, it becomes possible to take the popular memory practices, discussed by this thesis, more seriously and sympathetically. To avoid the prevalent and powerful tendency to think of memory as 'over-present and lost'[13] and of place as fragmented and marked by amnesia, the thesis mobilizes the notion of heterotopia.

ii) Heterotopias of Memory

The use of Foucault's concept of heterotopia allows for an account of memory sites that recognizes how they disrupt the continuity of space and time. Milan Kundera has written that the 'past is full of life, eager to irritate us, provoke and insult us, tempts us to destroy or repaint it'.[14] As the external expressions of the essentially disruptive internal experience of memory, sites of memory are characterized by their excessiveness, their strange inclusions, their sacred aspects, their thresholds, and their capacity for multiplicity.

Personal reverie or intense grief are experiences of memory that transport us to other times and evoke other places. The sites that make this experience tangible and material will be markedly different from other spaces and will disrupt the fabric of the everyday. The form of memory spaces - the roadside shrine, the war memorial, public art and the museum - reflect their special function in the peculiarity and particularity of their physical realizations. The outward expression of the flash of memory from the area's industrial history for example, results in a giant angel, and the insistent memory of a dead child creates sacred spaces in a depersonalized environment.

The chapters establish the ways that memory sites constitute a challenge to the representation and interpretation of the past through their spatial and temporal multiplicity. The numerous private and public meanings of spaces of memory represent the tensions between private and public spheres. There are complex relationships between sites through dialogue, criticism and evocation. The temporal dimension that Foucault particularly insists on in his

model of heterotopias suggests these spaces are also multiple in the way they hold together discontinuous times.

Unlike utopia, Foucault's heterotopias are real places. This is important because it means they will be particularly amenable to cultural studies analyses. By focusing on how these real places are created by different institutions and interests, the study of heterotopias of memory can contribute towards the understanding of how space is produced. By emphasizing the constructed nature of space, the concept avoids the suggestion that this experience of multiplicity is purely an emotional response on the part of human agents and establishes that it is a quality of particular spaces. Similarly the emphasis on space resists the suggestion that heterotopias depend only on transient social relationships. Neither of these models adequately represent the complex way in which war memorials, for example, conjure and evoke other spaces of war, battle and nation. The thesis insists on the material rootedness of the heterotopic function.

It was 42 years ago that Foucault delivered his lecture, 'Of Other Spaces', to a group of architects. Since then, the spatial characteristics he describes have significantly intensified. Foucault claimed then, that we are in an 'epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed'.[15] The key words of current postmodern theory reflect this same thought; we are living in a moment of 'time-space compression'.[16] Today, space, shaped by globalizing forces could be described as particularly conducive to the notion of heterotopia. However

this does not sit easily with Foucault's claim that heterotopias have always existed, at all in times in all places - they appear at the founding of every society. If this is right, it can be argued that heterotopias have not suddenly come into existence with the creation of roadside shrines, regenerated quaysides and living history museums. Heterotopias *of memory* have always existed and always had the qualities of juxtaposition that Foucault outlines. They have simply changed form and function over time.

Recognizing this has implications for memory studies too. Huyssen acknowledges that the 'fissure that opens up between experiencing an event and remembering it in representation is unavoidable'.[17] This means that memorial works will always involve mediation. Of course, it matters whether that mediation is a wax tablet, a pen, a computer or a camera. One of the things this thesis explores is how memory alters when it enters different spaces, and how the memorial, museum, and film all produce different sorts of memory and access to the past. But there cannot have been, as Nora suggests, some kind of pure, whole or direct memory before any of the technologies of memory. The essential nature of remembrance, its 'afterwardsness', excludes it.[18]

Sites of memory have always been incongruous so it is important not to simply accept a 'before and after picture' of place and memory. In this way memory spaces can offer an understanding of the multiplicity of space that is currently being recognized as a key characteristic of a postmodern world. The research carried out by the thesis provides a way to 'think with memory' that

will be of use to anyone interested in the relationship between memory and space: the way in which memory generates particular places and how spatial politics shapes what or who will be remembered, and where. The notion of a heterotopia not, as Foucault suggests, of ‘crisis’ or ‘deviation’, but of memory, offers a model for thinking about the multiplicity of memory sites. However, rather than choosing places that correspond with the principles of heterotopia in a mechanical fashion, the idea can be used as a way to read the differences and multiplicity that memory sites hold in tension. The thesis has not tried to prove the coherence of heterotopic theory, nor the existence of heterotopias, rather it has taken up the notion, along side other concepts in memory studies, as a way of reading the complexities and ambiguities and richness of memory spaces.

The subjects of the case studies have all been located in Newcastle or the North East. Mapping the memory of the city at this moment is vital given the changes the city has undergone since de-industrialization, but this study is especially relevant because of the regeneration of the last 10 years. NewcastleGateshead has become a model for regeneration elsewhere but its treatment of the past in its memorial public art and the region’s museums is ambiguous and contested. Its energetic engagement with memorial pubic art makes NewcastleGateshead a particularly interesting example of urban renewal. It is important to analyze why certain aspects of the regeneration have been successful and others less successful. A study of the experience of the North East will be of value wherever regeneration is undertaken. Continual urban change is a feature of modern living. It requires well-informed and

imaginative management of the urban environment of which an important element will be the re-orientation of public spaces around memorial public art.

[1] The following texts provide examples of this approach across a range of topics but most of them involve 'reading' memorials, works of public art and museums. T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, 'The politics of war memory and commemoration: contexts, structures and dynamics', in *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory*, eds, T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 3-85; Roland Barthes, 'Semiology and the Urban' in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory,* ed, Neil Leach (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 166-171; Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); John Bodnar *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Alan Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991); Adrian Forty, 'Concrete and Memory' in *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City* ed, Mark Crinson (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 75-95; Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate in Decline*. (London: Methuen London Ltd, 1987); Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German Memory in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997).

[2] Gaston Bachelard, 'The Poetics of Space (Extract)' in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London and New York: Routledge, 1997; Gaynor Bagnall, 'Consuming the past' in *Consumption Matters* edited by Stephen Edgell, Kevin Hetherington and Alan Warde (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), pp. 227-247; Walter Benjamin, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLuaghlin, The Arcades Project (Cambridge, MA. and London: Harvard University Press, 1999b); Walter Benjamin, *One Way Street and Other Writings,* trans. by Edmund Jephott and Kingsley Shorter (London: Verso, 1985); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Mike Crang, and Penny, S. Travlou, 'The City and Topologies of Memory' in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 19: 2, April 2001, pp. 127-252; Tim Edensor, 'The ghost of industrial ruins: ordering and disordering memory in excessive space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, 2005, pp. 829-849; John Falk and Lynn Dierking, *Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*. (California: AltaMira Press, 2000); Anne-Marie Fortier, *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000); Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Alison Landsberg, 'America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy', *New German Critique* 71, 1997, pp. 63-86; Marcel Proust, trans. by C. K Scott Moncreiff and Terence Kilmartin, *The Remembrance of Things Past* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1988)

[3] Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991)

[4] Henri Lefebvre, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith *The Production of Space* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1991); Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2002b).

[5] Although more work is being done in Ireland and Australia. In the United Kingdom, Geri Excell has been described by *The Guardian* as the 'leading' academic on the subject. Blake Morrison, 'Saying it with Flowers', *The Guardian* Thursday 3 November 2005, p. 8; For her work see Geri Excell, (2004), *Roadside memorials in the UK*, unpublished MA thesis, University of Reading, and Geri Excell, 'Britain's 'Punk' Mourning Culture' in *Layers of Dying and Death* edited by Kate Woodthorpe (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2007), pp. 45-54. Other useful sources include: H. Everett, *Roadside crosses in contemporary memorial culture*, (Austin: Texas University Press, 2002); Sylvia Grider, 'The Archaeology of Grief: Texas A&M's Bonfire Tragedy is a Sad Study in Modern Mourning', *Discovering Archaeology*

2: 3, July/Auguast 2000, pp. 68-74; Kate Hartig and Kevin Dunn, 'Roadside Memorials: Interpreting New Deathscapes in Newcastle, New South Wales', *Australian Geographical Studies*, 36, pp. 5–20; Una MacConville, and Regina McQuillan, 'Continuing the Tradition: Roadside Memorials in Ireland', *Archaeology Ireland* 19:1, pp. 26–30.

[6] See Patrick West, *Conspicuous Compassion: Why Sometimes it Really is Cruel to be Kind* (London: The Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 2004); Julian Barnes,, 'Kitty Zipper' in *The New Yorker*, 29 September 1997, pp. 78-82; *Don't Get Me Started!*, 'False Grief', London, Five, 23 Aug 2006 [video: VHS].

[7] Tim Edenor's work on British industrial ruins celebrate these spaces as 'affective and sensual memories' that 'act as an antidote to the fixed, classified, and commodified memories purveyed in heritage and commemorative spaces' in Tim Edensor, 'The ghost of industrial ruins: ordering and disordering memory in excessive space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, 2005, pp. 829-849, p. 829. Also see Tim Edensor, *Industrial Ruins: Space, Aesthetics and Materiality*, (Oxford: Berg, 2005) and his excellent website which includes photos of the sites he analyses, 'Tim Edensor – British Industrial Ruins' [online] 'http://www.sci-eng.mmu.ac.uk/british_industrial_ruins/; See three papers under the chapter title 'Terrains Vagues: Transgression and Urban Activism'. These are: Yael Allweil and Rachel Kallus 'Public-Space Heterotopias: Heterotopias of Masculinity along the Tel Aviv Shoreline'; Gil Doron ' '…those marvellous empty zones on the edge of our cities': heterotopia and the 'dead zone''; Peter Lang, 'Stalker *un*bounded: urban activism and the *terrain vague* as heterotopia by default'.

[8] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[9] M. Christine Boyer, 'Cities for Sale: Merchandising history at South Street Seaport' in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed, Michael Sorkin (New York: Noonday Press, 1992), pp.181 – 204; Peter Halley, *Collected Essays 1981 - 87* (New York: Sonnabend Gallery, 1989); Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions*: *Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1996); , Emma Barker, 'Art in the Wider Culture: Introduction' in *Contemporary Cultures of Display* ed, Emma Barker (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 175-177.

[10]Tony Bennett *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate in Decline*. (London: Methuen London Ltd, 1987); Kevin Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Postmodern World* (London: Routledge, 1992); Michael Wallace, 'Visiting the Past: History Museums in the United States' in *Radical History Review* 25, 1981, pp. 62-95.

[11] For discussion on film and memory see: Paul Grainger, *Memory and Popular Film,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Marcia Landy, *The Historical Film: History and Memory in Media* (London: The Athlone Press, 2001); Robert Rosenstone, *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

[12] Nora, 1989, p. 7.

[13] Radstone, p. 5.

[14] Milan Kundera, trans. by Michael Henry Heim, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 22.

[15] Foucault, 2002a, p. 229.

[16] Harvey, 1989.

[17] Huyssen, 1995, p. 3.

[18] Psychoanalyst, Jean Laplanche has developed the Freudian concept of *Nachträglichkeit* ('afterwardsness') in *Essays on Otherness* (London: Routledge, 1998). See particularly Chapter 10 'Notes on Afterwardsness', p. 260. It is taken up mostly in relation to trauma theory but is used also to stress the retro-active nature of memory and its dependence on re-presentation.

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